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Book reviews

Chris Ballard, Paula Brown, R. Michael Bourke and Tracy Harwood (eds), *The sweet potato in Oceania; A reappraisal*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, Department of Anthropology / Sydney: University of Sydney, 2005, viii + 227 pp. [Ethnology Monograph 19, Oceania Monograph 56.] ISBN 0945428138. Price: USD 43.65 (paperback).

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Ever heard of the 'Ipomoean Revolution'? Or of the 'Colocasian Revolution' or the 'Susian Revolution'? My guess is that you have not, unless you are a New Guinea specialist with an interest in roots and tubers. Perhaps it is not necessary for those of us who have a more general interest in the region to remember all three terms, but I suggest you try to remember at least the Ipomoean Revolution. Reading some of the essays in the book under review here would be a good starting point.

The book, an edited volume in folio format, with a refreshingly no-frills title, presents a range of contributions on the present status and history of the introduction and spread of the sweet potato on the islands of the Pacific and in New Zealand and New Guinea. The scientific name of the sweet potato is *Ipomoea batatas*, hence the term Ipomoean Revolution, shorthand for the rapid spread of the tuber and its far-reaching societal effects, particularly in the highlands of New Guinea.

It is now generally accepted that the sweet potato originated in the Americas, and was introduced in many areas of Asia after 1500, as part of the 'Columbian exchange'. This is not a recent point of view; it was proposed as early as 1700 by the German-Dutch botanist Georg Everhard Rumpf (aka Rumphius), who described and discussed a large number of plants growing in the Indonesian Archipelago and surrounding areas around that time. However, there is a growing consensus that the crop had reached many islands of Oceania prior to 1500, probably through the agency of Polynesians, who may have landed on South American shores as early as 1000 CE and who returned with the sweet potato in their baggage. It is no longer believed that the sweet potato arrived of its own accord, carried on sea currents, or that, as the scholar-adventurer Thor Heyerdahl attempted to demonstrate

in the late 1940s, people from America had introduced it in Oceania. Its prehistoric introduction by Polynesians in Oceania was proposed in a seminal publication by Douglas Yen, dated 1974, to which the volume under review can be seen as both a sequel and a tribute. In fact, Yen proposed a tripartite transfer, named after the terms used locally for the sweet potato. Thus he distinguished the prehistoric Kumara line, the Portuguese Batata or Batatas line, and the Spanish Camote or Kamote line. A few years earlier, Harold Conklin and Jacques Barrau had suggested plural introductions along these lines. Basically, this model has withstood the test of time.

Half the essays in this volume deal only with the Kumara varieties, both during their prehistoric introduction, and their later, historic spread, starting around the 1760s, when European and American explorers, whalers, and missionaries had reason to want to broaden the rather narrow resource base (taro, yam, coconut) of the islands of Oceania. Many of these essays show that the arrival and acceptance of the sweet potato led to population growth, particularly because it was possible to grow this crop in hitherto 'empty' areas, which were too arid, too high, or too infertile for other crops. The introduction of the sweet potato is also held to have led to higher returns to labour, which meant that a larger surplus became available, which could be used as 'social capital'. That is at least implied in an (by Paul Wallin, Christopher Stevenson, and Thegn Ladefoged) on the possible influence of the introduction and spread of the sweet potato on the island of Rapa Nui (Easter Island) on the increased construction of monumental essay architecture – the famous giant heads. Thus, the spread of the sweet potato as an important staple crop – in some instances the most important one – led to intensification of land use, which, in the often vulnerable agro-ecosystems of the islands, could easily give rise to environmental problems.

The other half of the essays deal with New Guinea. It was regarding this area that James Watson suggested in a number of articles dating from the mid-1960s that the introduction of the sweet potato some 300 years ago had led to what he called the Ipomoean Revolution, particularly in the highlands. Although Watson has been rightly criticized for arguing that the sweet potato had turned the New Guinea highlanders from foragers into agriculturalists (most of them had known taro-based sedentary agriculture for ages), the notion of a transformation of the highlands in the wake of the spread of the sweet potato appears to be generally accepted now, even though not everyone believes it was a revolution in the sense of a sudden dramatic occurrence. Analogous to Watson's notion of an Ipomoean Revolution, scholars have since suggested that there might have been a Colocasian (taro) and a Susian (pig) revolution, as it is now widely held that the introduction of taro several thousand years ago led to sedentarization of the highlanders, while expanded sweet potato cultivation made large-scale pig keeping possible, thus paving

the way for ceremonies and conflicts based on the exchange of pig meat (see the essay by David Boyd). Over the last hundred years or so, the sweet potato has been spreading in the lowlands as well, and for the same reasons as elsewhere: it is a crop that needs little moisture or care, and can grow in areas that are rather infertile, while it produces high yields per unit of land and labour. This enables people in the lowlands to spend less time on subsistence agriculture and more time on cash crops or wage labour.

The book opens with a good introduction and summary by Chris Ballard, and closes with an epilogue by Douglas Yen. A book with such varied contributions (agriculture, anthropology, archaeology, etymology, history) is necessarily uneven in quality. Although the value of many contributions can only be fully assessed by specialists, I can say that I found most of the essays informative and convincing. I will voice here only one complaint, and that is the lack of a comparative perspective, particularly regarding the rest of Asia. And finally, one mistake: Rumphius is said to have based his classification of the sweet potato on Linnaeus (essay by Yen, p. 182). When Rumphius died, in 1702, Linnaeus had yet to be born (1707).

Caroline Hughes, *The political economy of Cambodia's transition, 1991-2001.* London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, x + 260 pp. ISBN 070071737. Price: GBP 70.00 (hardback).

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The period 1991-2001 addressed in the title of this book forms a crucial episode in the remarkable history of postwar Cambodia. In 1991 a UN-brokered ceasefire was proclaimed between the Vietnam-supported PRK (People's Republic of Kampuchea) and the UN-recognized opposition. In the same year the Paris Peace Conference took place, and preparations for the UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) mission started. In 2001 the State of Cambodia was established under the dominance of the CPP (Cambodian People's Party), and the power and charisma of its leader Hun Sen had become unchallengeable. In fact, this is the large question behind the book: How did Hun Sen gain control of the circumstances, nationally and internationally?

The book is much more than a chronology of events. It presents a penetrating analysis of what happened in Cambodian politics over the past twenty-five years. In this sense it goes far beyond most of the existing literature and turns Cambodia into a relevant general case. The author calls her approach

'political economy', which in her view should not be confined to a loose combination of political and economic analysis. Her focus throughout is the interdependence of state and society, whereby the economy is seen as a source of both opportunities and constraints.

Fundamental to Hughes's analysis is the interpretation of the new relationships formed in the transition from plan economy to market economy as a modified form of patron-clientism (pp. 60-7). In the study of Southeast Asia, 'patron' and 'client' are classical concepts, and most Southeast Asian societies have local terms for them. But Hughes describes a transformation that deserves broader comparative analysis. For Hughes, a unique constellation of violence, killings, bankrupt socialism, a switch from East Bloc to Western democracies, and the input of various forms of development assistance created opportunities for a small group to appropriate economic wealth and resources. This appropriation was based on the power of the old patron-client networks, but now these relationships are different. Hughes calls the new relationships commoditized, patrimonialized, and exploitative. These new networks of clients within a ministry or the army provide access, privileges, opportunities for rent-seeking, and protection, but they also exclude those who have no chance to enter these networks. The new configuration created a coherent political party (CPP), which eventually became the backbone of the state. This party was able to 'use the resulting nexus between insecurity, control and cooptation/exclusion to marginalize other parties in the multiparty arena of the 90s' (p. 84).

This 'neo-patrimonial' state does not exist in isolation. The international community has intervened on a large scale and has redefined Cambodia's political environment. Democratization has largely been a response to the imperatives of aid dependencies rather than a response to local pressures. Democracy requires that the (rural) population is able to voice its interests. This again is a matter of political economy and is dependent upon economic relations between state and society (p. 9). As Hughes sees it, democracy is not a matter of procedures, but of participation and access to resources. It is not surprising that she is sceptical of democratization in Cambodia, which is introduced mainly by intervening agents, international organizations, and NGOs.

The international sphere does, however, offer a new arena of opportunities and constraints. Elections, demanded by the intervening powers, initially posed a threat for the CPP. It lost the 1993 elections to the royalist FUNCINPEC. It is the process whereby the 'neo-patrimonial' state proved able to gain control over local areas – by patronage, gift-giving, threats and violence – that guaranteed the CPP a majority in the 1998 elections.

The later chapters focus on 'minor forces' in Cambodian politics and are more descriptive of players and events. The other political parties, NGOs, civil society, trade unions, and urban protests are discussed. Although

Hughes refuses to classify her view as pessimistic, her analysis does not leave much room for optimism. She indicates only two modest chances for democracy. The first is the space for urban protest movements in the capital city. The second is the local temple committee, which has the potential of creating community spirit, but does not systematically interact with the state.

Hughes's analytical framework produces new and relevant hypotheses. It especially invites comparison with transitions from plan economy to market economy elsewhere (Russia, China, and Vietnam) and with changing patron-client relationships in other countries of Southeast Asia. Such a comparison could answer the question whether and in what sense we can indeed speak of the Cambodian development as unique.

The great merit of this book is its analysis of a specific constellation of state, society, economy, political parties, democratization and international dependence, illustrated with personal interviews and formulated from different perspectives in different contexts. This study should be required reading for anyone trying to understand contemporary Cambodia. It is not just another story about Khmer cruelties; the book is academic, sometimes difficult to read, but it spells out a dramatic case of a local – and sometimes violent – adaptation to market economy and democracy.

Richard Robison and Vedi Hadiz, *Reorganising power in Indonesia; The politics of oligarchy in an age of markets*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004, xx + 304 pp. ISBN 0415332524, price USD 160.00 (hardback); 0415332532, USD 44.95 (paperback).

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In 1998, in the midst of an economic and political crisis, Indonesia witnessed the demise of Soeharto after he had ruled the country for thirty-two years. Even though the Asian crisis and Indonesia's regime change are almost one decade behind us, the question of how Indonesia's political system has been reshaped is still relevant today.

Reorganising power in Indonesia is an attempt to come to terms with the political system during and after the Soeharto era. Rather than siding with theories of modernization to a neo-liberal, democratic model of governance, the authors argue that there is a fair amount of continuity in the distribution of political and economic power. The authors present a compelling and well-researched analysis, strongly rooted in political-economic theories of change and in deep knowl-

edge of Indonesian political and economic realities. They show that Indonesia has not converted to the type of market capitalism that IMF so optimistically predicted. Instead, the specific power struggles in Indonesia have led to what others have called a persistent local 'variety of capitalism'. While neo-liberal thinkers have argued that democracy and free markets come about automatically, the authors view these theories as flawed, since they fail to recognize that capitalism itself is the outcome of political struggles.

The Indonesian system is argued to be based on the politics of oligarchy, by which the authors mean a balance between a small wealthy political elite and a small number of business families that control a large share of the economy. While the political elite crafted a system that stimulates rent-seeking activities, the large business families received advantageous or exclusive rights on the condition that they transfer part of their wealth to the political elite. As this system worked well for both parties, and continues to work well, there is, even after the demise of the dictator who perfected the system, little reason for the entrenched elite to shift the power balance to other aspiring actors in the game of money and power. Despite a clear window of opportunity for change after the Asian crisis, the authors show how reform efforts have been hijacked by elite families, who have regrouped under new circumstances. Carving out oligarchic positions for selected business families has thus remained a popular strategy in Indonesia, despite the global rhetoric on the primacy of markets over protectionism.

The authors take the position that political and economic change in Indonesia is the outcome of social struggles for power. By attributing a pivotal role to local political processes, they may underestimate the destabilizing effects of globalization on business families. While Indonesia indeed has the power to protect its markets and resources for private exploitation, there are clear limits to this strategy. The WTO has placed restrictions on the use of protective measures, and Indonesian politicians can hardly keep out the cheaper Chinese imports, sometimes smuggled, that are undermining the lucrative exclusive positions of their cronies. International rather than local markets are undermining the local balance of power and wealth, and limit rent-seeking to only a few areas in which state interference is undisputed.

While the mechanisms of cronyism may remain the same in Indonesia from a political perspective, from a business perspective Soeharto's demise has led to a dramatic change. Maintaining crony relations with a single long-term dictator comes at a price, and the smart and unscrupulous businessman calculates his costs, expected returns and risks. If the dictator is replaced, or turns out to be mortal, the rent-seeker may be victimized by a subsequent regime. Risks of nationalization and asset confiscation, or outright mob violence against people and property, have occurred in Indonesian history and their impact has proven to be substantial. Within a stable autocratic system

one may characterize such risks as low in probability. Once the crony system is democratized and changes players every four or five years, the probability of political risks increases substantially. Assuming that costs of rent-seeking remain equal, the well-calculating businessman will realize that diversifying this risk by investing in other countries is a wise strategy. It is clear that most of the large Indonesian business families have followed such strategies in the past decade, thereby undermining the grip of the political elite on domestic capital and ending the state-led system of accumulation.

Economies are increasingly permeable, and pressures on the local power balance are not exclusively domestic in origin. Whether these external pressures will eventually lead to the demise of the system of local politico-business alliances remains to be seen. Given the extremely meticulous analysis in this book, one is tempted to side with the authors and subscribe to their rather dark analysis of the persistence of the politics of oligarchy, even in an age of markets.

Michael W. Charney, *Southeast Asian warfare, 1300-1900*. Leiden: Brill, 2004, xx + 319 pp. [Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section Three South-East Asia, Volume 16]. ISBN 9004142401. Price: EUR 127.00 (hardback).

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Southeast Asian warfare before the colonial conquests has been elucidated by a considerable number of specialized studies in recent years. However, these texts have usually focused on specific countries within the region. No general study has been offered since H.G. Quaritch Wales's monograph of 1952, although important aspects have been discussed in the works of Anthony Reid and others. Michael Charney's book is therefore a welcome addition and summing-up of the subject. It is a well-written and attractive volume, nicely illustrated, partly with photos taken by the author and his wife. As he notes in the introduction, there is a lacuna in the historiography of the region, since the position of early modern Southeast Asia among the traditions of warfare of Europe and other Asian regions remains to be explored; it is necessary to understand how methods and technologies of warfare from the outside were integrated into a local system that in itself had reached a degree of maturity.

The book covers the period from the early fourteenth to the late nineteenth century, though Charney frequently refers to even earlier events. Setting the

starting date at 1300 is motivated, somewhat insufficiently, by the increase in relevant source materials at this time, while the end date is marked more naturally by the final defeat of the partly modernized Southeast Asian armies at the hands of the European and American colonizers. The set-up of the study has to do with its being published in a larger series. Charney starts by discussing cultural and structural aspects of Southeast Asian warfare, and then expands on a number of themes in nine chapters, including firearms, fortifications, and elephants. All this tends to give the work a 'matter-of-fact' style, where the various themes are elucidated by numerous historical examples. No doubt this will constitute an invaluable research tool for anyone concerned with the field, for example by relating micro studies to larger trends of warfare. Personally, however, I would have liked to see a few battles, campaigns or sieges expanded on in greater detail, in order to see how the various components of strategy, logistics and technology interrelated in a particular situation.

Charney takes issue with a number of points on the nature of Southeast Asian warfare made by other current scholars. Anthony Reid, among others, has argued that campaigns were fought with comparatively little bloodshed, since the point was rather to increase manpower and, consequently, avoid wasting one's own manpower resources. Charney says the available data do not support this 'low casualty' thesis, but rather indicate that high casualties and wholesale destruction were common. What is certain is that technology imported from Europe increased the scale of killing. The author also disagrees with Reid with regard to the role of fortifications. Reid has argued that the logical response of minor Southeast Asian centres in the face of sizeable attacking forces was to take to the forest and wait out the enemy; towns and villages did not develop a defensive strategy since there was little in them to defend. Again, Charney argues that the evidence points in another direction altogether, and rather emphasizes the stubborn defence of homes and possessions. As a historian of mainly Island Southeast Asia, I can recognize some of the features of warfare described by Reid, and there might be reason to distinguish between the larger realms of the mainland and Java on one hand, and the small-scale polities of the islands on the other. Charney's own field of expertise is Burma-Arakan, and he appears to be more familiar with Thailand and Vietnam than with the island world.

The last chapter deals with the onslaught of Western colonialism in the nineteenth century. The inevitable question is whether the indigenous states ever had a reasonable chance to catch up with Western development in military technology, and stand up against colonial intrusion. Charney's investigation does not suggest that. Southeast Asian armies had developed a certain amount of efficiency by the nineteenth century, incorporating elements of European weaponry and other external influences. However, as the century

wore on, indigenous rulers attempted to create standing armies according to Western standards, and the results were not encouraging. The reforms sometimes led to a confused situation where European military instructors and traditional non-commissioned officers competed. The expenses of modernization kept the standing armies comparatively small, and certain features, for example an efficient cavalry, were allowed to decline. European control of arms supply also affected the Southeast Asians' ability to withstand colonial armies. The defeats of Burma and Vietnam in the 1880s, in a matter of days or weeks, seemed to confirm what John Crawfurd wrote in 1828; when traditional modes of warfare are abandoned in favour of modernization, the indigenous 'are only the more at the mercy of the latter [the Westerners]; and […] no Indian nations have been so speedily subdued as those who have attempted to imitate European tactics' (p. 243). These defeats, for sure, were not the end of efficient indigenous warfare against the intruders. The Western armies had to fight cumbersome and prolonged campaigns against local forces that had taken up methods of warfare which had been ignored for decades by the central rulers. That even these forces were worsted in the end is explained by the flexible organization that allowed Westerners to use their technological advantage and combine them with certain indigenous-style tactics.

Daniel Perret, Amara Srisuchat and Sombun Thanasuk (eds), *Ètudes sur l´histoire du sultanat de Patani*. Paris: École Française d´Extrême-Orient, 2004, 326 pp. [Études Thématiques 14.] ISBN 2855396506. Price: EUR 45.00 (paperback).

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Patani, a former Malay-Islamic sultanate located on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula in what is now southern Thailand, has been little studied since Teeuw and Wyatt published their translation of the *Hikayat Patani* in 1970.[1] As a result, this collection, with contributions either in French or in English, is most welcome, for it presents the results of research of archaeologists from the Ècole française d´Extrême-Orient, the Prince of Songkla University, and Thailand´s National Museum (Fine Arts Department) conducted at the site

[1] A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani; The story of Patani.* The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970. [KITLV, Bibliotheca Indonesica 5.] An exception is Wayne A. Bougas, *The kingdom of Patani; Between Thai and Malay Mandala*. Bangi: Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1994. [Dunia Melayu 12.]

of the former sultanate of Patani from 1997 to 2001. The contributions are not limited to diggings, however, for the book provides a comprehensive, informative overview of the origins and flourishing of this entrepôt polity before its conquest and absorption into Siam at the end of the eighteenth century.

The initial chapter, by co-editor Daniel Perret, brings a wide range of material to bear on the rise of Patani, probably in the mid-fifteenth century, showing how the natural advantages of the site, its geographic position on the eastern shore of the Malay Peninsula in the South China Sea, and the geopolitics of the region combined to favour the polity's development. Old Patani lies some distance from the present city of Pattani, close to the sea. Blessed with a sheltered anchorage, the location was convenient for traders from China, who brought ceramics and luxury goods, and for others arriving from Java, who brought precious woods and spices. Patani also had access to local resources like gold and tin, and to goods from India carried on transpeninsular routes. Well placed to profit from changes in the flow of the China trade, and probably promoted by Siam, to which it paid tribute, the harbour flourished especially after Melaka was taken by the Portuguese in 1511. After that, Malay and other trade shifted to nearby Muslim polities like Johor and Patani itself. The sixteenth century was Patani's golden era.

The following ten chapters present various kinds of evidence that lead to a portrait of Patani at its peak. This evidence includes textual references; most useful is the substantial chapter by Geoff Wade on Chinese sources, not only those of earlier centuries but also more recent accounts, many of which he generously translates. There is also a brief account by Yoneo Ishii of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japanese references that calls into question the usual dating of the reigns of Patani´s queens. Of course essays by Perret and others also make use of Western sources, which became available after the seventeenth century. None of the contributions deals with sources in Portuguese (although some are used), but a study of Patani´s place in such texts is planned.

Central to the book is the archaeological project, which not only localized the palace compound, walls and moats, settlements and harbours of old Patani, but also investigated whether remains of inland settlements might confirm the traditional account in the *Hikayat Patani* that the polity was founded from an inland settlement. Neither carbon dating of diggings at inland sites nor an exhaustive search of the copious finds of earthenware and ceramic shards by Marie-France Dupoizat, also reported in the book, could confirm such a hypothesis. Only one upriver settlement, that of Ban Prawae, which Quaritch Wales believed was the site of the ancient realm of Langkasuka, is older than the seventeenth century. Investigations in Ban Prawae show that the site was occupied before the ninth, perhaps as early as the fifth century. Although the investigators found religious statuary, pottery shards, and votive tablets,

no Chinese ceramics they excavated could be dated earlier than the Ming Dynasty (1366-1644). This site thus appears to be an early place of religious pilgrimage, but not the kind of trading centre that Langkasuka, which is known from Chinese sources and which predated Patani by centuries, must have been. Only after the rise of Patani did important trade goods reach this settlement. Where on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula Langkasuka may have been remains a mystery, but it was not at Ban Prawae.

Amnat Sombatyanuchit, Jureerat Buakeaw, Somboon Thanasuk and Krongchai Hattha report on the examination of remains of pottery kilns at Ban Di, near the old port, and suggest that this local production, which can be dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was contemporary with Patani´s flourishing. Looking at Islamic epigraphic evidence in the vicinity of old Patani itself, Perret attempts to trace the routes of Islamization of the sultanate by distinguishing types of early tombstones, some inspired by Aceh (the most common), others suggesting links with Brunei. Ludvig Kalus complements these investigations with translations of some Arabic tombstone inscriptions.

Perret, in another chapter, places Patani in the networks of seventeenth-century trade that reached not only to India and China, Java and the Spice Islands, but also to the Ryukyus and perhaps to Japan. Tables provide a comprehensive overview of the products known to have been traded in the port, giving their origins and destinations. The final essay, by Wayne Bougas, looks at the nearby site of Sai (now Saiburi), confirming its importance to Patani as related by the *Hikayat Patani*.

Such a substantial, well-founded contribution to the history of a small but significant Malay-Muslim sultanate that existed partly in the sphere of Malay influence from Johor, Pahang, or Kelantan, partly in the 'mandala' of Siam, as Bougas has called it, is cause for rejoicing. The book is well produced and illustrated with photographs, maps, and diagrams. It is also a sad reminder of the situation of the Patani area today. Violence between Thai government forces, rebellious Islamic elements, and local residents makes further investigation of this kind impossible and may continue to prevent such research in the future.

Joel Robbins, *Becoming sinners; Christianity and moral torment in a Papua New Guinea society.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, xxvii + 383 pp. ISBN 0520237994, price USD 65.00 (hardback); ISBN 0520238001, USD 29.95 (paperback).

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Christianization may lead to cultural change and even cultural conflict or conflicting value systems within one society. In this book, Joel Robbins analyses the consequences of Christianization among the Urapmin, a community of about 390 people in West Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. The Urapmin were Christianized rapidly starting in the 1960s. The notion of sinfulness heavily influences their daily lives, and it conflicts with the traditional moral system. Robbins aims to analyse this religious cultural change and, more specifically, its ethical dimension. The book is based on fieldwork in 1991-1993. Parts of it have been previously published as articles from 1995 to 2002.

Robbins's theoretical approach is based on Sahlins and Dumont. In Sahlins's structuralist theory, people establish a 'structure of conjuncture', a 'practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific historical context'. He distinguishes three types of cultural change as a result of external influences: assimilation, transformation and modernization. In the case of modernization, people take on a new culture. The crucial factor is humiliation, a negative perception of indigenous culture compared with western culture. Sahlins's concept of modernization offers a way to explain the adoption of a radically different culture, which exists alongside the traditional indigenous culture. Robbins prefers to use the term adoption rather than modernization. According to Dumont, the elements of a culture are ordered in relation to one another by the culture's paramount value. Values are a part of culture and a culture's values are ordered in the way that culture is organized. When paramount values change, real cultural change takes place. In terms of Sahlins's models, when a new paramount value replaces or comes to exist alongside an old one, this can be seen as adoption. The third element in Robbins's theory is the role of morality in cultural change. In the moral domain, cultural change is experienced in a very conscious way. Here Robbins leans on Foucault. In Foucault's theory, morality consists of two elements, codes of behaviour and forms of subjectivity. These can operate more or less independently of one another, and the emphasis on one or another of these elements may be different.

In Part One of the book Robbins describes 'The making of a Christian community'. At the end of the 1940s colonial rule was forced upon the Urapmin. The Urapmin associated colonial law with terror, but they never-

theless accepted the legitimacy of the law. Starting in the 1960s, the Urapmin became Christians in a very short time. The Australian Baptist Missionary Society brought the Urapmin a rather conservative Christian faith, which bore little or no relation to anything in the indigenous culture. In the meantime the Urapmin became rather marginalized compared to neighbouring peoples who were closer to the colonial administration and the Christian mission posts. Becoming Christian was a means to participate in modern 'development' and to improve their social and economic position with respect to neighbouring peoples. Young people were not yet initiated into Urapmin religion and thus could easily become Christians. Some Urapmin were trained as preachers and had a chance to participate in development. They acquired positions within the Christian mission and thus regained religious and economic authority.

Starting in the late 1970s, a Christian revival took place as a second-stage conversion, and the local church was founded. The Holy Spirit became the central element in religious experience. The authority of local preachers was based upon their Christian knowledge, inspired by the Holy Spirit and received directly from the Holy Spirit through interpretations of visions, dreams, and other ecstatic spiritual experiences.

In Urapmin culture, secret religious knowledge played an important role, and visible action was more important than speech. In Christianity, however, the word of God must be spread as widely as possible, and for the Urapmin the knowledge of hidden things became visible through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Also, Christian faith was apparently perceived to produce more effect in daily life than did indigenous rituals. Sacred houses were abandoned and the sacred ancestral bones were buried. Young men and the traditional big men played an important role in this Christian revival. The young men, being in a better position to embrace Christianity, quickly acquired Christian knowledge; the big men decided what to do with the remnants of the indigenous religion, inspired however by the Holy Spirit. 'Spirit women' could be possessed by the Holy Spirit and heal sick people, and dance parties were held during which a number of people were possessed by the Holy Spirit.

In Part Two, 'Living in sin', Robbins focuses on sinfulness in Urapmin life. The Urapmin are heavily influenced by dispensational millennialism, and the Second Coming of Christ has changed Urapmin orientation in space and time. In their perception, the present is undetermined, while the future is important, and this future will be radically disconnected from the present. The Urapmin strongly believe the Second Coming is near. It will happen unexpectedly, and the Urapmin try very hard to be ready for it. They are constantly assessing current events for an indication that the last days have begun.

Against this background, the Urapmin strive for moral perfection to attain salvation. Here the conflict between the indigenous Urapmin cultural system and the Christian cultural system becomes manifest. In traditional Urapmin

culture, the law was based on a set of prohibitions, and social life was seen as a balance between wilfulness and lawfulness. The Christian code of behaviour parallels the traditional code of behaviour, although some traditional taboos had to be abandoned. However, there is a huge difference in moral subjectivity. Whereas in Urapmin perception, wilfulness is accepted when oriented towards positive social action, in Christian morality wilfulness is always condemned and sinful. Christian morality is an internalized morality. In Christian ethics there can be no individual will because one is supposed to do God's will, which will lead to salvation. Therefore, the Urapmin constantly have a heavy feeling of being sinners.

Urapmin life is full of rituals meant to put Christian morality into practice. However, these rituals offer no solution because they only focus upon the Christian dimension of sinfulness. Put more abstractly, there is a conflict between relationalism and individualism. As to paramount values, Melanesian cultures are neither holistic nor individualistic, but relationalistic; lawfulness is oriented towards social relations. In contrast, Christianity is individualistic, because salvation is personal and all individual wilfulness is condemned. The Urapmin therefore turn to millennialism. They believe the church as a collective social unit knows whether all its members will reach salvation or whether certain members will be lost. So, the moment of the Last Judgement is seen as a collective one.

Robbins's book is an excellent study of Christianity in a non-western society and of the conflict between traditional and modern culture in the realm of religion. The Urapmin adopted a type of Christianity with a strong focus on the Holy Spirit and the Second Coming of Christ. However, in mainstream western Christianity these elements hardly play a role. Also, the Holy Spirit is strongly linked to possession and to some extent healing, which is not the case in a mainstream western Christian church. This seems of no primary concern to Robbins, but in my opinion, these phenomena still need to be explained, just as do the apparent importance of salvation, the explicit relationship between salvation and the imminent Second Coming of Christ, and the acceptance of an individualistic notion of sinfulness.

Robbins focuses primarily on Christianity and does not systematically examine the traditional indigenous religion or the way the two are combined. However, in many places in the book, one does find data on the indigenous religion in connection with Christianity. One gets the impression that Christianity was adopted, but then also adapted to Urapmin culture. Precisely in this Urapmin version of Christianity lies the syncretism or the continuity. However, Robbins puts the emphasis on discontinuity and cultural conflict, while underrating both continuity and syncretism. Also, Robbins's theoretical ideas are rather sketchy and in fact only descriptive. Adoption is a descriptive concept and does not offer an explanation of the

phenomena in question. To summarize the social dimension of Urapmin society as not individualistic and not holistic but relationalistic is too simple a way of characterizing social life. Such theoretical labels can obstruct a more realistic and subtle analysis. It would have been wise if Christianity had been considered as part of Urapmin religion, and seeing this religion as a combination of Christianity and indigenous traditional beliefs. Also, more attention could have been paid to continuity within the discontinuity of cultural change, because there is probably more continuity in the cultural change than Robbins suggests. The type of Christianity adopted by the Urapmin is by no means exceptional in Indonesia, for instance, where Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist churches are relatively strong in Christian areas like Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Apparently this variety of Christianity fits local circumstances better than does mainstream Christianity.

So, as far as theory and analysis are concerned, I find room for debate in Robbins's book. On the ethnographic level, Robbins presents a very good study of Christianity in Papua New Guinea. He pays ample attention to the perspective of the people under study themselves, in addition to providing a clear view from an outside observer. Robbins has an eye for detail and for the way individuals play their part in larger cultural change. In sum, Robbins's book is an exemplary ethnography of religious change, especially in the realm of morality.

Mujiburrahman, *Feeling threatened; Muslim-Christian relations in Indonesia's New Order*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press / Leiden: ISIM, 2006, 424 pp. ISBN 9053569383. Price: EUR 49.50 (paperback).

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Mujiburrahman is the first Muslim to write about both the Christian and Muslim sides of the relationship. Some other Indonesian Muslims have written mainly about the Muslim side. Christians are a small minority of around eight percent, so it is not surprising that Indonesian Christians have previously written about this issue. Victor Tanja's dissertation on the Muslim student movement HMI of 1982, for example, was praised in Muslim circles at the time. Foreign writers have also been either Christian or secular, and have focused mainly on periods before the New Order (see Mujiburrahman's brief literature review on p. 19).

The approach is direct and refreshing. The title *Feeling threatened* sums up the state of Muslim-Christian relations in Indonesia with terrible clarity. Thinly veiled under the dialogical-sounding words 'discussion' and 'discourse', Mujiburrahman describes a fiercely competitive reality that occasionally turns violent. Since independence in 1945 there has been no clear consensus in Indonesia on the separation of religion and state. 'Civil society' is not a universally accepted good. Indonesia is a deeply divided society. That competition between the two missionary-minded religions is an obstacle to democracy lies at the heart of Mujiburrahman's argument.

The book is full of impassioned personalities. Many are aggressive and intolerant. The defining moment of their lives was participating in the ominously named KAP-Gestapu movement of late 1965. This military-backed anti-communist United Action to Crush the 30th September Movement (Kesatuan Aksi Pengganyangan Gerakan September 30) brought young Muslims of reformist and traditionalist persuasions together with Catholics and Protestants. Hundreds of thousands of people associated with the Indonesian Communist Party PKI were massacred over the next few months. This was Indonesia's Holocaust, still largely denied to the present day. Even Mujiburrahman does not give it the importance it deserves. The government then encouraged the mainstream religions to proselytize surviving communist sympathizers, resulting in a wave of conversions. As one Christian convert said: '[...] although the Gestapu was a tragedy and caused a lot of difficulties, it also opened the door to the Bible' (p. 29).

However, the very success of this morally dubious missionary campaign soon reignited long-standing suspicions between the two communities. With the common lower-class enemy gone, Muslim and Christian elites took to sniping at each other. Muslims spoke of foreign-funded 'Christianization' that undermined the *umat* and the nation. Christians spoke of fanatical Muslim hostility towards freedom of religion and secular developmentalism. Christians in particular, already favoured for military careers since colonial times, snuggled closer to the army once General Soeharto took power. Mujiburrahman argues that the Christian rush to the military, out of fear of Muslim assertiveness, was one of the major impulses to New Order militarism. His key evidence centres around Father Beek, the Dutch Jesuit missionary who secretly trained a generation of Indonesian Catholic laypeople for insertion into the higher reaches of government, and who collaborated with Soeharto's intelligence czar Ali Moertopo to lay the foundations for the secular state political party Golkar. The Catholic General Moerdani was Soeharto's right-hand man for many years. He and Moertopo were key supporters of the New Order's only think-tank in its early years, the Catholic-dominated Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Protestants too had their military links, particularly through the retired former Chief of

Staff of the Armed Forces T.B. Simatupang. Like many generals, he devoted his remaining years to religion. Throughout the high New Order he headed the Protestant ecumenical body DGI (Dewan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia, Indonesian Council of Churches, later renamed PGI, Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia, Indonesian Communion of Churches).

Mujiburrahman carefully documents the aggressive trading of proposals between these Muslim and Christian men throughout the New Order, which ran from 1966 to 1998. The agenda they shaped revolved around three central questions: the national ideology Pancasila (does it trump religion?), family law (is inter-religious marriage permitted?), and education (what do children learn about God?). In each case conservative Muslims tried to expand the space for more explicitly Islamic values on the grounds that the majority wished it, while Christians sided with the secular government to resist them. Fortunately, Mujiburrahman also makes room for a good few mild-mannered individuals who did feel drawn to pluralism and civil society. He clearly admires these heroes of enlightened religion. Among them are Mukti Ali, the liberal technocrat who became Minister of Religion in 1971, the Islamic scholar Nurcholish Madjid, and the Nahdatul Ulama leader and later national president Abdurrahman Wahid. Progressive Muslims gathered weekly in Mukti Ali's Jogjakarta home in the late 1960s. They were excited about the promise of rationality in the secularization process. Nurcholish Madjid, leader of the Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI, Association of Muslim Students), began to quote from Harvey Cox's *The secular city* (1965). By the 1980s a younger generation of Muslims and Catholics were taking an interest in Latin American liberation theology. Mujiburrahman hopes they represent the future of religion in Indonesia. They certainly take us far beyond the bleak 'clash of civilizations' view so common in the West.

As often happens with a good book, this one made me want more. Reviewers should write about the existing book and not the one that might have been, so what follows is best seen as suggestions for further work. They involve standing back from the material and probing it with questions about institutional or class interests. By focusing on the seminar papers and policy proposals of Indonesia's leading religious figures, Mujiburrahman's study has selected one face of religion – the stridently political – while excluding others such as the mystical, artistic, philanthropical, rural, or gendered. One wonders, for example, whether the village syncretism Geertz called *abangan* would be as obsessed with fortifying religious borders as these elite figures appear to be. The growing orthodoxy among both Christians and Muslims throughout the New Order was the result of internal mission directed from above. At the same time we want to learn more about what orthodox religion means personally to these strident elites. But, undeniably, the hostile debates do convey a sense that the subject is important to many people.

The only reference to theory in Mujiburrahman's book is to Talal Asad's *Genealogies of religion; Discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam* (1993) (p. 19, note). Asad rejects as an imperialist invention the western view of religion as individual belief, and asserts that what we call religion can only be understood as part of an all-embracing, state-sanctioned communitarian experience that predates the emergence of the modern nation-state. This is a valuable insight, and Mujiburrahman might have done more with it. We can much better appreciate the competitiveness of Indonesia's two biggest religions once we grasp their essentially communitarian character. Seen in this light, Nurcholish Madjid's enthusiasm for the modern world on the grounds that humans are the vicegerents of God endowed with powers of creative reason (*khalifa*) looks like the dream of a tiny intellectual elite, like Feuerbach in nineteenth-century Europe. Pluralism, individualism, civil society, and liberal democracy all sit strangely with this communitarian world.

Institutions are a related line of inquiry. The many fascinating personalities in Mujiburrahman's story are probably less autonomous than they seem. We want to know what larger interests constrain their freedom of action. It seems clear to me that participating in the anti-communist purges so foundational to the New Order had given them a hegemonic, agenda-setting role. Not as large as they expected, perhaps, given the technocratic nature of the new regime, but large enough to keep them in demand as gatekeepers against 'atheistic' lower-class militants. As leaders of religious organizations counting millions of members, as university professors, retired military officers, and cabinet ministers, they belonged to the New Order establishment. In this sense the New Order state did not stand as far removed from the religions as Mujiburrahman suggests when he describes the history of pragmatic government reactions to their internecine elbowing.

It is not easy to judge how this story will evolve, and Mujiburrahman wisely makes no predictions. On the one hand, the localized civil wars between Muslims and Christians in Ambon, North Halmahera and Poso just after the end of the New Order in 1998 suggest that communitarian obstacles to pluralism and democracy remain strong. The state was complicit in these wars, albeit in complex, often indirect ways. On the other hand, government remains secular even after the democratic elections of 1999 and 2004. The number of young people forging new forms of dialogue in the spirit of Mukti Ali, Nurcholish Madjid, and Abdurrahman Wahid is growing. Especially if they manage to make contact with the non-establishment religiosity of ordinary Indonesians they might, perhaps, trump intolerance with more inclusive forms of solidarity. Mujiburrahman's book is a major contribution towards that end.

Marie-Odette Scalliet, *De Collectie-Galestin in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek*. Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2004, 176 pp. [Codices Manuscripti 32.] ISSN 01698672. Price: EUR 25.00 (paperback).

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Dr Theodore Paul Galestin (born Batavia 1907, died Noordwijk aan Zee 1980) was professor of archaeology and the history of South and Southeast Asia at Leiden University from 1957 until his retirement in 1976. From 1945 to 1957, he had been extraordinary professor of the art history of East Asia at Amsterdam University. An obituary of his life and works was never published, and consequently not much about his career is known to those outside the circle of his family, friends and colleagues. A brief (too brief, in my view) description of his life is therefore included in this book.

Galestin was an old-fashioned professor who considered teaching his main task; this is reflected in Scalliet's bibliography of his writings included in this book. Publishing was obviously of secondary importance to Galestin.

During his long involvement with Indonesian art and archaeology Galestin collected a large quantity of photos, other illustrative materials, manuscript transliterations, exhibition catalogues and flyers, and many other bits and pieces which have been brought together and are described here in some detail. The content of the collection is interesting for several reasons. To begin with, there are many photos, including some rather rare ones dating back to the nineteenth century. Other interesting items include four drawings by Walter Spies along with some of his correspondence from captivity in the late 1930s up to his untimely death in 1942, and collections of papers left by others concerned with Indonesian arts and archaeology: Th. van Erp, L. van der Wilk, L.C. Heyting, J. Terwen-de Loos, and H.E.R. Rhodius. Galestin was also a visual artist and the collection includes some of his own drawings, along with drawings and pictures by others. The collection of exhibition and museum catalogues is worth mentioning, as these have not been systematically collected elsewhere.

There is no reason given for the decision to publish the book in Dutch instead of English. Unfortunately, the photos portraying Galestin are poor-quality enlargements of smaller snapshots which should have been reproduced in their original size. The wonderful photo of two Balinese children wearing sunglasses suffers from the same defect. As it is, they compare unfavourably with the other illustrations in the book. It is a pity that such 'details' were overlooked.

The introduction by Jan Just Witkam mentions the important Voorhoeve collection of the library, which, however, has never been honoured with a special book; I wonder if more of these 'special' collections will be awarded such attention in the future. The book offers no reason for deeming the Galestin collection fit for inclusion in the Codices Manuscripti series; this is somewhat surprising, given that most of the 'manuscripts' mentioned in the work are not original manuscripts but rather transliterations (from the collection of Leiden University Library itself, the library of Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Universitas Indonesia, the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, and F.H. van Naerssen's papers). Moreover, apart from photos and drawings, the bulk of the collection consists of printed works and articles, many of which are available elsewhere, either at the university library, or at the KITLV library across the canal. It would seem that the word 'manuscript' in the library's view seems to encompass much more than manuscripts in the strict sense.

Notwithstanding the merits of the present publication, the fact that it is published in the Codices Manuscripti series raises questions about the library's internal manuscript policies. Many manuscripts in Javanese, Balinese and other languages have been waiting a long time to be properly catalogued and are largely inaccessible because they have not yet been. The large collection of Balinese manuscripts might, for instance, have been a better choice, especially since no English-language catalogue of Balinese manuscripts has ever seen the light. The choice of the Galestin collection, then, is rather odd at a time when so little funding is available for projects of this kind.

This having been said, the present publication makes new materials available to a wider audience and will hopefully inspire new and innovative studies. It is to be hoped that the author will be given the opportunity to explore other collections in the library.

James Neil Sneddon, *Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2006, xi + 286 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 581.] ISBN 0858835711. Price: AUD 54.50 (paperback).

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Until recently, teachers of Malay, including those fully aware of the diglossic nature of Indonesia's 'languagescape', had sound didactic and practical rea-

sons for teaching beginning students standard Indonesian instead of a Malay dialect. Because the national language is codified in grammars, dictionaries, canonical literary texts, and other authoritative writings, teaching materials are widely available. Indeed, by now, Indonesian grammars and dictionaries are to be had in most major foreign languages as well. Materials on and in the numerous Malay dialects, by contrast, are poorly represented, since political and scholarly attention has been directed in the past mainly towards the prestigious standard language. Whereas competent speakers of standard Indonesian are able to express themselves and communicate -- at least formally -- anywhere in the country (and even in some neighbouring countries), mastering only a regional dialect by definition will leave you helpless outside that particular geographic area and stigmatize you as a country yokel. Implicit in the preface of the work reviewed here is a third reason why proficiency in standard Indonesian is essential, even for foreign students who want to learn the Jakarta variety of spoken Indonesian: the fact that a comprehensive description of what the author calls Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (CJI) necessarily involves numerous references to standard Indonesian (while the reverse is not the case), because it shares a substantial grammatical and lexical core with the national language. This has significant theoretical and practical implications. First, theoretically and synchronically, CJI may be viewed as a variety of standard Indonesian. Second, for efficient language instruction to foreigners, instruction of the standard language should precede teaching of CJI. It thus would seem that there are no compelling reasons for language instructors to radically revise their curriculum for beginning students. It would suffice to make students aware that unless they master an additional informal variety of spoken Indonesian, they will inevitably find themselves unable to communicate on a more personal level and in a more relaxed atmosphere.

However, teachers may now find good reasons to alter the structure and content of their advanced course. First, it is conceivable that in the wake of recent socio-political developments and global transformations the sociolinguistic status of standard Indonesian in relation to other Malay varieties is changing. These changes could in due course affect the structure of Indonesian and the other Malay sociolects and dialects. Here I am referring to societal developments during recent decades which affect the relationships between centre and periphery, between erstwhile high-ranking individuals, authoritative centres, and elite groups on the one hand, and subordinate individuals, organizations, and layers of society on the other. Concurrently, the impact of the worldwide web as a catalyst of change is psychologically profound. Second, during the past decade or so, a number of studies have been published on regional and social dialects other than standard Malay.

Against this background Sneddon's CJI grammar is not only a well-timed contribution, but also a fitting and logical pendant to his 1996 Indonesian

grammar. The language described here is a Malay dialect spoken by educated Jakartans in everyday informal interactions. Significantly, it is a prestige variety that is gaining ground on the standard language, it exerts a standardizing effect on other informal Malay varieties across the country, and it may develop into a mother tongue for growing numbers of Indonesians. It thus has a very different position and scope than other informal varieties, such as regional Malay dialects and *gaul* or *prokem* varieties, which tend to be more locally coloured or serve as in-group languages.

Chapter 1 offers a twelve-page description on the linguistic situation in Indonesia, the diglossic nature of Indonesian, the socio-linguistic position of CJI, the absence of clear boundaries between Indonesian and CJI, attitudes towards formal and informal varieties, and implications for teaching. As standard Indonesian and CJI share much of their vocabulary and grammar, Sneddon's grammar is essentially a comparative study, dealing with those CJI elements that are markedly different from corresponding structures in Indonesian. Moreover, 'The only way to give a clear and accurate picture of language use in CJI is in a quantitative study' (p. 9). Indeed, relative frequencies of variant forms (in a given collection of texts) are as important a factor in characterizing lexical items and constructions as descriptions of their meaning and grammatical function. To counterbalance unpredictable individual variation, a sufficiently large collection of recordings from a considerable number of individuals is a prerequisite as well. For this study, an impressive 312,000 words in 38 different recordings were analysed. These aspects are explained and accounted for in Chapter 1, while detailed breakdowns of figures are given in Appendices A and B.

Chapter 2 offers a nearly 100-page description of salient phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features. While some of these features have been noted by scholars for other Malay dialects such as Jakarta Malay (Betawi) or for colloquial Indonesian as spoken in Jakarta and other places, here they receive a more comprehensive treatment, including ample illustrative sentences and statistical details.

The fact that Indonesian is highly formal and impersonal, while CJI reflects the social context in which it is used and the personal relationship between speech participants, creates eye-catching differences especially on the pragmatic level. Appropriately, therefore, Chapter 3 is devoted entirely to the use of discourse particles, ellipsis, multifunctional preposition *sama*, role of shared knowledge, absence of quotation markers, and use of the listener's name. The discussion of discourse particles – notoriously tough and hard to tackle – is instructive, although I imagine teachers must be prepared to answer critical questions in class that arise because of Sneddon's sometimes loose pedagogical characterizations or inconsistent translations and punctuation in example sentences. Take the description of clause-initial 'questioning

particle' *kok* and clause-final 'emphasizing' *kok* (pp. 122-3). The observation that 'placed before a statement, *kok* changes it into a question' seems incompatible with the second part of the characterization, namely 'and expresses the speaker's surprise that it is correct'. Speakers in example sentences 57-60 do not seem to be soliciting information. Instead the clauses appear to have the illocutionary force of (strong) assertions, and therefore Sneddon's use of the question mark is misleading. Finding evidence for this alternative interpretation is difficult though, not only because contextual information is not given (I imagine this would add many more pages to the book), but also because other discourse particles co-appear in sentences 57-59. I suspect that use of a comma to separate final *kok* from the preceding clause as in sentences 61-64 is motivated more by the English translations that have a final tag ('I tell you, you know') than by structural properties of the CJI clauses themselves. These interpretation problems could have been partly avoided if the author had stuck to the intonation unit as the basic component in discourse analysis, instead of grammatical sentences.

Fortunately, however, the intonation unit figures prominently in Chapter 4. The 125 pages of recorded texts, their glosses, and free translations are a rich and important source for language teachers and linguists alike. What these texts reveal is that Malay conversation analysis is a new and unexplored field. More research based on data of this kind and intended specifically for scholars will surely further our insights into aspects of the Malay language untouched by authorities, thus bringing a new interest to Malay studies.

James Leach, *Creative land; Place and procreation on the Rai coast of Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Berghahn, 2004, xx + 236 pp. ISBN 1571815569, price GBP 50.00 (hardback); 1571816931, GBP 15.00 (paperback).

Stanley J. Ulijaszek (ed.), *Population, reproduction and fertility in Melanesia*. Oxford: Berghahn, 2006, x + 243 pp. ISBN 1571816443. Price: GBP 45.00 (hardback).

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The edited volume *Population, reproduction and fertility in Melanesia* originated in a seminar series called 'Fertility and Reproduction in Melanesia' at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford, with a primary focus

on historical demography: the decline and subsequent population resurgence in Melanesia. Uljasek: 'While population processes reveal the relative biological success or failure of a society, an examination of ideas of reproduction from the perspectives of local communities leads to quite different understandings of this term. The question of exactly what is being reproduced, and how, is the second theme of the volume' (pp. 1-2). The third issue, local understandings of fertility, is dealt with by evaluating the extensive literature on this topic. Leach's study elaborates on the second and third themes of Ujasek's edited volume, and provides a more comprehensive ethnographic context for understanding local notions of fertility. He includes understandings of fertility that extend beyond the human body, such as the reproduction of space and society, and prefers to speak of 'creativity' to stress the emergence of places and the making of people as a conscious and continuous human process. Although the two books overlap somewhat, their major difference lies in the ways in which they approach fertility, which leads to rather different understandings. Leach endeavours to unravel local perceptions of fertility by taking personhood and the origins of life as a starting point (how is life created and procured through generative relations, including land and place?). Uljasek and other contributors mainly use historical and demographic processes (such as colonialism, migration and adoption) to explain biomedical or social aspects of and changes in fertility and reproduction. Another difference is the wider regional scope of the edited volume, which includes Island Melanesia, whereas Leach's ethnographic study is limited to a coastal community (Ray coast) in Papua New Guinea.

Both books will be relevant to anthropologists, sociologists and demographers who are interested in population movements, kinship or fertility, as well as to Melanesianists. Particularly Uljaszek's edited volume provides a significant contribution to our knowledge of changes in fertility through its well-described historical and demographic sections, which in anthropological studies of reproduction are usually missing or lacking in depth. The volume would, however, have profited from a sincere attempt to integrate these disciplines. Leach's book provides little contribution to (anthropological) theory building on fertility because of his unstructured regional comparisons and sometimes sketchy descriptions of important creative events (such as marriage). There have been more innovative publications on Melanesian reproduction, which have also taken more notice of current discussions on Melanesian personhood. The value of this book is its focus on kinship (the creative relationship between man, land, and the landscape), and as a critical follow-up of Peter Lawrence's publication *Road belong cargo* (1964), which deals with the same ethnic group. A disrupting drawback is the poor layout and low-quality paper of this paperback edition.

Population, reproduction and fertility in Melanesia includes some scholars of renown such as Lemmonier, Bonnemère, O'Hanlon, Ohtusuka, Dwyer and

Ulijasek, who each write high-quality chapters that could easily stand on their own. As part of this edited volume, however, these individual chapters grow in meaning and significance as they engage in a larger historical discourse that is underdeveloped in Melanesian studies. A serious criticism is the omission of an integrating introduction and some linking articles that would have connected the different themes. The absence of a synthesizing introduction may be deliberate, perhaps to avoid some tricky pitfalls in Melanesian studies, but it would have flattered the editor if he had made the effort. The volume is set up in three sections; historical demography (four chapters), the different ways in which biological and social reproduction are uncoupled in Melanesian societies (three chapters), and local understandings of fertility and reproduction (three chapters). Two chapters (from the first and second sections) will be highlighted here as they seem to be particularly representative of the intentions of the volume. The third section is closely related to Leach's monograph, and will therefore not be discussed here further.

Tim Bayliss-Smith opens the first section of the book with a chapter on depopulation and colonialism in the Solomon Islands. Colonization had a disastrous effect on population figures as it was accompanied – as in the Americas, Australia and Oceania – with 'guns, germs and steel' (Diamond 1997), 'germs' referring to disease pathogens and their demographic impacts. Most historical demographic accounts emphasize new sources of mortality following European contact to explain serious drops in population figures, and all the evidence suggests that this also holds for the Solomon Islands. Uljasek's chapter on population decline and resurgence in coastal and island New Guinea subscribes to this view, with higher mortality being compounded by low crude birth rates associated with the recruitment of adult males for plantation labour. The birth rate is generally thought to have been higher before the colonial period, at least in the sago areas, due to the abundance of palm sago, which according to Bruce Knauft (1993) always had the potential to support relatively large population aggregations. Colonization, therefore, is expected to have led to dropping birth rates, while death rates (mostly by germs) increased. Bayliss-Smith shows that micro-scale data may shed more light on these matters. He demonstrates the hidden and subtle effects of new infections such as syphilis, gonorrhoea and malaria. 'By affecting age structures and terminating reproductive lives through widowhood, epidemics have insidious effects on fertility as well as on death rates' (pp. 46-7). He argues for more detailed research on the indirect role of germs on both mortality and fertility rates, as the latter tend to be underreported in demographic studies. After independence, Uljaszek postulates, population increased again, which may be attributed to the introduction and increased availability of biomedical practice, and improved nutrition, the latter also enhancing women's fecundity (p. 67). Fertility rates, in short, had previously been neglected in demographic studies of the area.

Melissa Demian's chapter on adoption (second section) is an example of the ways in which biological and social reproduction may be unravelled. This is an important point, as adoption has long been recognized by anthropologists as a popular reproductive strategy in Oceania and PNG, but has gone largely un-theorised. Demian: 'Adoption appears, after all, to be the quintessential reproductive intervention, "natural" relationships co-opted by "cultural" imperatives' (p. 136). However, one question that usually remains unasked is what exactly is being reproduced by means of the adoption strategy, or why a reproductive state is undesirable. In her study area (Suau Coast, Milne Bay Province, PNG), where at least twelve per cent of the population had been adopted or fostered, it appeared that adoption was most often caused by other relationships operating upon, around, or because of it, rather than by fertility-related problems. Demian applies the concept of 'emptiness' (*'aha 'aha*), an incomplete situation from which an element is missing, to make adoption intelligible. Locally this concept is often used in the case of a sibling set that is only composed of one sex: 'emptiness of boys' or 'emptiness of girls'. The undesirable state that leads to adoption could hence be not only childlessness, but also an imbalance of male and female children, which was considered almost as bad. The reasons for the desire to adopt, Demian states, should be looked for in the space a child occupies in a particular social context. One must reproduce the right kinds of persons in order to reproduce the right kinds of relationships. All children are born as incomplete beings, and must be transformed throughout their lives into complete social persons. Adoptees have more potential relationships within them than non-adopted peers, particularly their options for land inheritance; they extend the range of connections to other people and places. On the other hand, adopting parents are challenged to act towards adopted children no differently from natal children, and their success will reflect not only on the completeness of the child (who has become rooted in adoptive and natal relationships and spaces), but also on their own completeness as parents and as social persons that have competently filled their social space. Adopting parents and adopted children are agencies of transformation, reproducing a still missing relationship and aspect of personhood, in this way contributing to the accomplishment of complete persons that have solved some of the 'emptiness' in their scope of possible solutions (filling 'empty space'). This approach to adoption is unique in current discussions on adoption, in which infertility, kinship and inheritance (law) are the usual parameters.

This creative aspect of personhood, on the Suau Coast defined as 'work' and the 'products of work' (such as children, land, or space), relates to *turum maliemung*, or, in Pidgin, *kastom*, meaning 'gathering things together [to give away]' among the Reite people living on the Ray Coast of PNG. Leach: 'The reference is to the gathering and giving of food and wealth to affinal kinspeo-

ple, in exchanges that result from marriage. *Kastom* in this case appears not as reification of the past, but as a description of what is known in the present about the process by which (in this case affinal) relations are managed; and *turum malieumung* is a description of combination' (p. xiv). Reite people approach the world from this position, articulating their history as one that has produced them as living by *kastom*. Leach stresses that what Reite people today consider to be *kastom* is not necessarily the same as Lawrence described some four decades ago. For a major segment of the population, he claims, it has nothing to do with the supernatural generation of wealth. Although Leach states that there is no relationship between the literature on cargo cults and his study, clearly his focus on fertility and 'creativity' are closely related to this theme. In more recent literature on cargo cults or comparable movements such as millennialism, it has been shown that cargo may represent a more general principle of life-force or fertility, and these movements may be attempts to access the source of life to attain this life-force. *Kastom* may have changed over time, which is not extraordinary, but it nevertheless refers to notions of personhood, (substance) exchange, and the origins and perpetuation of life, as did cargo. As Leach himself states, *kastom* is viewed as the ultimate source of power (p. 218).

Leach's description of Reite personhood shows a significant parallel with Suau conceptions of personhood in that persons and places are not bounded entities but only exist in relationship to other persons and places. An important difference is the way in which body substances and essences are an integral part of the construction and subsequent deconstruction of persons, and the way in which people become positioned in the landscape (Demian's 'rooted in place'). This approach clearly links up with Marilyn Strathern's famous work (1988) on the person as being partible, an entity that is composed of relations and that can dispose of body parts in relation to others, and to Herdt's structure of essences (1987). The significance of such partibility for fertility concepts can perhaps best be shown by examples where fertility appears to be less dominantly present. In Uljasek's edited volume we find a rare exception in Lemmoniers's chapter on the PNG Highland Anga people. He states that there is a remarkable absence of collective practices aimed at creating, maintaining or restoring fertility: Anga people are strikingly *unconcerned* about fertility, and one hypothesis that may be reasonably advanced to explain this conspicuous absence is that they do not develop or that they lack altogether a general equivalence between persons and objects (or substitutes for life) (p. 234). The Anga also have limited their emphasis on the partibility of the person, which Lemmoniers relates to the absence of most of the fertility rituals that are so widespread in PNG. Leach applies this concept of partibility (which he describes as 'constitution') to the role of blood, flesh, bones and spirit in kinship and the construction of personhood, which

is indeed common in the Melanesian cultural area. Reite body concepts, however, differ from various known examples of (Highland) PNG cultures in having a more elaborate role for (substances of the) land in establishing personhood. This extends beyond the widespread 'grease cycle '(Bloch and Parry 1982) in which body parts decay into the land and enter the food chain and, in this way, the bodies of the living. According to Reite perceptions, land encompasses a person's identity presentation. People not only become part of the land, but also represent it: persons are integral parts of specific places in the landscape. Differences between persons are differences between places. When people dance or perform a ritual, they represent themselves as a part of a specific place, and only secondarily as part of a group of persons related through blood or flesh. This approach does more justice to local ways of thinking about kinship or affiliation; kinship is a creative process that constantly needs attention and assertion, and is not something that can be simply captured by prevailing kinship models.

In conclusion, both books make a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Melanesian notions and practices of fertility. When read in conjunction, the books are seen to be complementary. Indeed, they represent two different prevailing approaches to fertility: as a consequence of historical, demographic or socio-cultural processes that create or solve fertility-related problems; or as a creative process in its own right in which fertility is generated or procured. These studies successfully display the richness of fertility concepts, practices and solutions in the Melanesian area and their relevance for unmasking some of the historical and contemporary myths on kinship and demographic changes. More than anything else, Melanesian fertility appears to be about definitions of personhood: how to construct completeness out of a set of fragmented parts.

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Angela Hobart, *Healing performances of Bali; Between darkness and light*. Oxford: Berghahn, 2005, xx + 272 pp. ISBN 1571814814. Price: GBP 15.00 (paperback).

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In this book, which integrates the approaches of interpretive anthropology, medical anthropology, and the performing arts, Hobart explores the therapeutic aspects of the cultural performances of Bali. The focus is on spirit-mediums, scholarly healers, masked ritual dramas, and the shadow theatre. In her opening words, 'these performative events intertwine aesthetic and spiritual motifs with images of cosmic power, sorcery and magic' (p. 1). The emphasis of the book is on rituals that 'transform situations and affect the individual's invisible realm in order to tap forces that can either recreate or destroy the realities of the patients concerned' (p. 2). The key underlying themes in this monograph are consciousness and the transformations of consciousness through the performance of ritual aesthetics. In ritual, 'meanings and symbols become activated in the inter-subjective world of the healing performance and social action initiated by the relevant participants'. Further, 'participants are not only moved physiologically and psychologically but also artistically through non-verbal aspects of the performance whereby a change in the sensibilities is evoked which contributes to a state of health' (p. 7). Hobart seems to take the term consciousness for granted and does not tell us what she means by it. Moreover, Hobart does not provide us with detailed descriptions of indigenous ideas of consciousness and how they work in the healing traditions other than focusing on the important concepts of integration and rebalance. For example, she could have explored the concept of *sakti* (power) in relation to indigenous concepts of consciousness, since after all, *sakti* as a cosmic concept is experienced through consciousness and therefore it is an ethno-psychological term as much as a cosmic one. Such an exploration of *sakti* would have lent greater force to Hobart's argument. I should stress though that the

problem of consciousness is still being explored in anthropology and Hobart's monograph is a further contribution to the theme.

The chapter on village community and family is particularly interesting, as it is written from an ethno-psychological perspective. Here Hobart outlines the cultural points of emotional tension in negative social interaction between people that causes psychological distress. The importance of this description is to argue that healers probe the unseen world in order to alleviate psychological distress. After laying out the negative aspects of social interaction and emotions, Hobart turns to the scholarly healers and spirit-mediums. She provides detailed descriptions and illustrations of healers' paraphernalia, magical drawings and exegesis, with examples of patient-healer interaction. The idea of showing the points of psychological distress as it is rooted in daily social action and then exploring the therapeutic practices in relation to this psychology leads the analysis of healing in the right direction. However, I would have liked to read a more elaborate exploration of the relationship between the particular healing techniques and symbolisms that healers utilize for particular ethno-psychological ailments. Hobart's ethnographic descriptions and case studies allude to a relationship between the indigenous ethno-psychology and the healing symbolism without actually showing how this works in a direct one-to-one healing relationship. Ethnographically, this could be a very difficult analytical task and may not be present in the data.

The other chapters in the book focus on classical Balinese cultural performances, the shadow theatre play, the masked performances of Rangda and Barong Ket, and the religious festival of Galungan. The detailed ethnographic descriptions are wonderful to read. These cultural performances she describes in terms of their therapeutic value to the community. Hobart reminds us that, in contrast to our own society which tends to be dominated by Cartesian dualisms, a society like that of the Balinese is holistic in its approach to the environment. The aim of such rituals is to bring about balance and harmony in the cosmos, society and the individual. Although the dualist/monist contrast has become a common critical theme in anthropology and particularly in medical anthropology, I would rather explore dualism and monism in a dialectic relationship with each other. The fact that people believe in unseen worlds and spirits already suggests dualistic thinking. Hence, rather than simply saying that the Balinese are holistic in their approach, it may be better to explore their own dualisms and these dualisms' relationship to monism (holism).

My minor critical points notwithstanding, this monograph is a pleasure to read. It takes the reader into the Balinese world of demons and witches, and back to their world of harmony and balance. The book is also beautifully illustrated with photographs (colour and black and white), sketches and diagrams. Some of the photographs are from archives. One particularly enchanting photograph is that taken by Walter Spies in 1938 of two *rangda*

(witches) looming in the mist (p. 20). A fascinating drawing from the 1940s is that of 'dogs howling at a witch' (p. 105). The many drawings relate well to the ethnographic narrative. The book serves as a very nice example of how a scholarly and theoretical ethnography can be combined with illustrations to make the account complete. There is also a useful glossary.

This monograph serves as an important contribution not only to Balinese/Indonesian studies, but to medical anthropology (the anthropology of healing), ritual and the anthropology of religion, performance studies, and the growing sub-discipline of the anthropology of consciousness.

Leo Suryadinata (ed.), *Admiral Zheng He and Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xviii + 168 pp. ISBN 9812303294. Price: SGD 29.90 / USD 19.90 (hardback).

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This volume contains nine articles related to Zheng He's voyages and their impact on the Malay world. It came out during the year China celebrated the 600th anniversary of Zheng He's first expedition (1405/2005). Evidently, the editor's chief intention was to publish a commemorative collection of major English-language papers representing 'Asian views' on Zheng He and related themes (p. xi). No doubt 'Asian' here should be corrected to 'Southeast Asian'.

Of the nine papers, five are older pieces. Some (if not all) are also available in Chinese translation. This includes two essays by Wang Gungwu, two by Xu Yunqiao (Hsu Yun-ts'iao, and other spellings), and one by Chen Yusong (Tan Yeok Seong). The two articles by Wang – on early Melaka and its relations to the Ming court (first published in 1964 and 1968) – are still cited today. However, during the last two or three decades, various contributions with supplementary information have appeared, such as the excellent studies by Geoff Wade in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 70-1 (1997) and *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 31-2 (2000). Unfortunately, Suryadinata's book has no comprehensive bibliography which might draw attention to these more recent publications.

The paper by Chen, on Njai Gede Pinath, still makes good reading today, but ought to be somewhat updated. Xu's classic contributions are rather general in nature. They address various questions which have always been controversial in the scholarly world and will probably continue to be. For example, Zheng He's physical features (recall the stereotype image transmit-

ted through *Gu jin shi yi* where Zheng He is described as a 'giant'!), the size of his 'treasure ships', the date of the so-called *Zheng He hanghai tu* (Zheng He map), and the use of the 'eastern route'.

The more recent articles in the present volume are the ones by Tan Ta Sen, the editor himself, Johannes Widodo, and Chung Chee Kit. Tan's paper fires a full broadside against Geoff Wade, who has claimed that Zheng He's expeditions formed part of a broader expansive strategy of the early Ming to strengthen China's influence over the maritime world; Wade argues that the maritime scenario associated with Zheng He thus comes close to the colonial systems established by the Europeans. These ideas, says Tan, cannot be reconciled with the data found in written sources; indeed, many Chinese historians believe that Zheng He was essentially an ambassador of peace. But it is equally true that some scholars have looked for a middle way between the two extremes; readers may ask why Tan did not explore these other viewpoints instead of dealing with just one author.

It may be added that Tan's paper contains a number of doubtful points. Here I shall only comment on two of them. First, the Portuguese – as 'successors' of the Chinese – were not as savage as he thinks. This misconception is largely based on older English writing, while it has been shown by others that the Portuguese system was a predominantly peaceful one. Furthermore, conceptually, it can be brought in line with certain strata of medieval Asian trade; there is thus no need to make a sharp distinction between a pre- and a post-Zheng He age. 'True' colonialism with all its evil results did not emerge until much later! The second point concerns Tan's reference to the Russian expert Bokwahan (p. 54). He probably means Aleksei Bokshchanin's *Imperatorskii Kitai v nachale XV* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976). If so, Tan may be advised to evaluate that book against the ideological background of its time. Moreover, it should be read together with other works by the same author, such as his *Kitay i strany Iuzhnykh Morei v XIV-XVI vv* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968).

The article by Suryadinata deals with Semarang and the Islamization of northern Java. It discusses various hypotheses concerning the possible arrival of Zheng He in Semarang, his death, and other relevant themes. There is also a chapter on the *Malay annals of Semarang and Cerbon*, a much neglected source of uncertain date and origin.

Widodo's article suggests that early Chinese settlements in the Malay world were organized along some sort of standardized 'urban' pattern. He includes several paragraphs on the Mazu cult and certain artefacts. One conclusion offered by Widodo is that 'the decline of the Hanafite Chinese communities in Java around 1450-1475 was caused by the decline in power of the Ming dynasty' (p. 108). Although not everyone will agree with that, those interested in the Islamic heritage should perhaps also look up the 'unique' paper by Yusuf Chang in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 61-2 (1988).

As Suryadinata's collection came out in Singapore, the paper by Chung had to be placed last. It deals with an old question: what does the toponym 'Longyamen' stand for? Not too long ago, Lin Woling (Lin Wo Ling) examined the same problem in his excellent *Lungyamen xin kao* (Singapore: Nanyang xuehui, 1999; see my review in *Oriente* 6, 2003). It is to this monograph that much of Chung's article refers. Briefly put, Lin found it difficult to identify Longyamen with Singapore Strait. Chung agrees with Lin on several points, but in the end arrives at a very different conclusion, namely that Longyamen was indeed Singapore Strait, or Keppel Harbour. Thus, according to Chung, Zheng He sailed along the shores of modern Singapore and not through the Riau and Durian channels – certainly to the great relief of Singapore's readership.

Be that as it may, one important point still requires careful deliberation before a final conclusion can be reached: Did the physical features of the Johore-Singapore-Riau region change over time, for instance due to earthquakes, deposition, or changes in tidal patterns and currents? There are reasons to assume that certain alterations did occur, as can be derived from a recent study by Peter Borschberg, in his collection *Iberians in the Singapore-Melaka area and adjacent regions (16th to 18th century)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 2004). In other words, our difficulties in interpreting old maps and texts may stem partly from environmental changes; these in turn may have caused sailors to search out new routes.

My general impression of this book is undoubtedly coloured by the fact that I neither belong to the Anglophone world, nor look at things from a 'Southeast Asian' perspective (if there is such a thing). In rounding off my review from this perhaps unusual standpoint, I should like to make three concluding comments. First, Gavin Menzies's propositions fortunately do not really figure in this collection, although Widodo could not resist quoting him. Second, Zheng He has been 'instrumentalized' in many ways over the years and the present book too exploits his memory, albeit in a very peculiar manner. Its overall arrangement, especially the curious mixture of recent articles with older studies by scholars of international reputation, cannot be overlooked. Finally, there are some formal shortcomings and the more recent articles might in general have benefited by citing additional Chinese secondary works. In sum, this is a collection of papers for a learned local audience that is expected to applaud.

Ruth Barnes, *Ostindonesien im 20. Jahrhundert; Auf den Spuren der Sammlung Ernst Vatter*. Frankfurt am Main: Museum der Weltkulturen, 2004, 288 pp. ISBN 388270411X. Price: EUR 120.00 (hardback).

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The personality of the German anthropologist and museum curator Ernst Vatter has intrigued the author of this volume for more than twenty years. What sparked this interest was the fieldwork Ruth Barnes and her husband, anthropologist Robert H. Barnes, conducted on the island of Lembata in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur in eastern Indonesia from 1969 to 1971. This was one of the regions Ernst Vatter had visited during the eight months of his research and collecting expedition to the Lesser Sunda Islands in 1928-1929, the results of which were published in the book *Ata Kiwan, unbekannte Bergvölker im tropischen Holland* (1932). One of the photographs in this book that the Barneses had taken along with them to Indonesia shows Vatter's much younger wife next to a man of Alor.

Back in Europe, Ruth Barnes visited the Museum der Weltkulturen in Frankfurt, where Vatter's collection and extensive documentation had been deposited (to this day it has never been on exhibition), in order to study the singular material. She was also interested in Vatter as a person, and wanted to find out what had happened to him after his academic career had become obscured in the mid-1930s. This interest was enhanced by Ruth Barnes's own research on Lembata textiles, published in 1989, for which Vatter's excellent documentation provided an unusual time perspective. Although Barnes has reported repeatedly about her quest on Vatter, her most relevant publication in English is oddly lacking in her list of references (*The present through the past; The Ernst Vatter collection in Frankfurt am Main*, published in R. Schefold and H.F. Vermeulen (eds), *Treasure hunting; Collectors and collections of Indonesian artefacts,* Leiden University: Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), 2002).

The Jewish origins of Vatter's wife had made it impossible for Vatter to continue his academic career, which had become difficult anyway in the early 1930s, after the appointment of Vatter's intellectual adversary Leo Frobenius, first as professor and then as museum director in Frankfurt. Vatter emigrated to Chile, where he died in 1948. His wife Hanna then returned to Germany, where Ruth Barnes, who remembered her portrait in *Ata Kiwan*, was able to meet her in the mid-1980s.

In her book on Vatter's collection, Barnes devotes a whole chapter to what

the collector shared of his scholarly ideas in his sparse publications. Before he went to Indonesia, Vatter had written one of the earliest books on primitive art, *Die religiöse Plastik der Naturvölker* (1926), in which he advocates for the aesthetic qualities of that art and its equal standing with Western art, and makes some very interesting remarks on the differences between the general appeal of a style and artefacts revealing a singular artistic creativity. After this book, Vatter went to Indonesia and wrote *Ata Kiwan*. Thereafter, only one further publication came to light, a discussion of the motif of the 'snake-dragon' (*naga*). Departing from Alor, Vatter demonstrates the distribution of the motif throughout insular and continental Asia and even Europe, advocating a comparative view reminiscent of diffusionist publications by Robert von Heine-Geldern at about the same time.

His earlier ideas about the role of the individual artist were not further developed, it seems, and Barnes remarks that even in the book *Ata Kiwan*, which is after all the report of a prolonged period in the field, there is little to be found about artistic creativity. There was not much time for such in-depth investigation, of course; moreover, there was the language barrier, while the primary aim was to obtain representative artefacts in as many localities as possible. This aim resulted in a museum collection of exceptional quality. In her book, Barnes describes Vatter's itinerary, what he collected in which localities and under what circumstances, and what additional information on the technical, social and religious contexts he was able to gather. Wherever possible Barnes adds her own personal reminiscences on the locations and on memories people still have of Vatter's visit. She fills gaps in the ethnographic evidence, evaluates more recent literature, and compares the past situation with the present. Many photographs from the expedition are shown alongside the current state of affairs.

The collection itself is extensively described and beautifully illustrated. The bulk of the volume is a catalogue with colour photographs and descriptions of hundreds of objects, arranged according to functional groups – in my opinion not always equally plausible – and all labelled with their native terms.

This is an excellent book, very well edited, and to be recommended not only for anyone interested in the art and material culture of the region but also in the history of cultural anthropology in post-World War I Germany.

Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *Een missionarisleven in brieven; Willem van Bekkum, Indië 1936-1998*, Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005, 352 pp. ISBN 9057303604. Price: EUR 24.95 (paperback).

Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *Een pionier op Flores; Jilis Verheijen (1908-1997), missionaris en onderzoeker*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006, 448 pp. ISBN 9057304031. Price: EUR 39.95 (paperback).

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While doing research for a PhD dissertation on totemism as reflected in the field notes and unpublished writings of Jilis Verheijen, a Dutch missionary in West Flores (Manggarai), Marie-Antoinette Willemsen found some boxes of letters written by a colleague priest in the Society of the Divine Word, Willem van Bekkum (1910-1998). As is often the case, the focus of the PhD project then shifted from a study of totemism to a biography of Verheijen, concentrating on his anthropological methodology while a missionary. In addition, a few months before defending her doctoral dissertation on Verheijen, Willemsen published a volume containing some 300 letters written by Van Bekkum to his family in the Netherlands (first to his parents, later mostly to a brother).

Willem van Bekkum left for the Dutch Indies in 1936. Until 1950 (interrupted only by detention in a Japanese camp from 1942 to 1945) he pioneered in Manggarai, the mountainous western part of the island of Flores, establishing mission posts where a teacher was assigned to start a school, this being the principal strategy for spreading Catholicism. In 1951 he was appointed bishop of Ruteng. He became the proponent of a version of Catholicism that included elements of Manggarai tradition and culture, believing that Catholic liturgy should be brought closer to the daily life of the people. He received some support in this, but also much opposition, from his colleague missionaries and from the Vatican. On 4 June 1958 he wrote: 'At last the missionaries have converted themselves [to my point of view], and we may hope for a bright future. […] But we remain bound to the Roman Ritual and are in regular contact with the experts in Rome.' (p. 177.) From the early 1960s he devoted increasing attention to economic issues, in line with the start of development aid in Germany and the Netherlands. Besides attending the meetings of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), Van Bekkum spent more and more time at the office of Misereor, the German Catholic fundraising organization for Catholic missions, which also allocated money from the German government. The Manggarai project proposals needed to be formulated to comply with the strict criteria of the European governments, but Van Bekkum was not a good

administrator. He also spent long periods outside his diocese, promoting Catholic efforts in acculturation and development and giving many lectures abroad. In his own diocese, many of the older missionaries felt uncomfortable with the newer ideas about pre-Christian traditions that were now being incorporated in the Catholic liturgy, and with the new tasks assigned to the mission in economic development. There were many tensions, resulting in acrid debates among the missionaries and an antagonistic meeting between the Vatican delegate to Jakarta and Van Bekkum, leading to Van Bekkum's forced abdication as bishop of Ruteng in 1972. Unfortunately, this collection of letters is absolutely silent about this period and does not even mention the decisive influence of the Vatican nuncio (p. 210). Van Bekkum devoted six years to studying psychology in Zürich, likewise not mentioned in this collection. In 1978 he returned to Manggarai and worked in a small village until his death in 1998. This last period is the subject of one-third (pp. 210-334) of the book. Here he is the calm village priest who is always busy raising funds to furnish a school or church building, or to dig a well or promote agriculture.

There are very few notes in the text. On p. 100 (8 September 1949) 'the Christian passing away of our king' is mentioned. This refers to Alexander Baroek, praised by the missionaries and especially Van Bekkum as the great ruler of Manggarai, a representative of the mountainous regions against the Muslim coastal villages and their chiefs, who were still loyal to the Sultan of Bima. There are vivid descriptions of missionary trips (pp. 113-20) to the small Muslim communities of the islands between Flores and Komodo, and to young Christian communities for the administration of confirmation (pp. 135-8), and also a trip by a foreign Franciscan priest carrying an imported statue of Mary (pp. 153-65), absolutely in contradiction to Van Bekkum's interest in the traditional culture of Manggarai. In these letters to his family, Van Bekkum did not discuss in depth the hot issues of the contentious debate in Manggarai, and for this we will have to turn to other sources. Nevertheless, this study provides valuable documentation of an important region in the most successful Catholic mission area of Indonesia.

The second book by Willemsen is a study of the life and work of Jilis Verheijen, who arrived in West Flores in 1935. Right from the beginning of his period of duty in Manggarai, Verheijen showed great interest in the language and local traditions. He used his period of recovery after Japanese internment for finishing a doctoral dissertation on the High God among the Manggarai (*Het Hoogste Wezen bij de Manggaraiers*). The title suggests the influence of the anthropological school of the SVD, Society of the Divine Word, a school founded by Wilhelm Schmidt. Verheijen, however, deemed the theory of the *Urmonotheismus* too general, abstract and theoretical. The main purpose of his dissertation was to present Manggarai texts in the original and in translation, as well as describing rituals and their local context. Willemsen had the

opportunity to hold long interviews with Verheijen about this dissertation in 1995-1997, and makes ample use of them. One may wonder whether the Verheijen of 1947 had somewhat more affinity with Schmidt than the 'gentle agnostic' (on p. 374, *humaan agnosticus*) he was in the 1990s. In 1959, Verheijen was exempted from his priestly and pastoral duties and was free to devote himself to research. His attention was given mainly to the Manggarai oral tradition. In addition to a dictionary. he published many texts, mostly in mimeographed editions. A side interest was biology. He not only collected names of birds and plants, he also sold a collection of birds' eggs and nests to the Leiden Museum of Natural History. The outcome of this transfer (pp. 264-5) is a tragic but not unusual instance of academic reality: after very long discussions, the final sale, and extensive research on the material, no money could be found in Leiden to finance the publication! Willemsen characterizes Verheijen's academic interest as 'salvage anthropology' (p. 293), after the American anthropologist Franz Boas (died 1942). Verheijen 'without any doubt' had come across Boas's ideas about anthropology (p. 286). And his methods were very close to the advice Schmidt gave to missionaries in the field, to collect as much material as possible and leave the interpretation of it to colleagues at European and American universities. Willemsen questions the reliability of some of Verheijen's informants: boys who had had several years of education at Catholic high schools, sometimes even a young priest who had finished his study of orthodox Catholic theology and could speak Dutch and read Latin, yet was considered as a key informant for the dissertation on the High God in Manggarai. These are the dilemmas of the missionary anthropologist. There were other difficult choices. Although Verheijen was exempted from priestly duties, he continued to live as a pious and devoted priest. In his last period in Manggarai he expressed his annoyance about Catholics who lived together as wife and husband without a proper marriage ceremony in church, sometimes for many years, and were not willing to confess this as a sin. In April 1990 he wrote in English to the Indonesian bishop of Ruteng: 'If I had not advised them to go to confession, I doubt whether most of them would have bothered about it'. Catholicism grew strong in schools, in church liturgies, and in local politics, but Manggarai traditions still dominated the whole process of marriage, including dowry and the gradual way of arriving at a full marriage. This does not seem to be a new European introduction, but rather a continuation of Manggarai habits. In such respects, then, this 'mild agnostic' was still a traditional priest. Willemsen is not observant in psychological matters, and she merely notes the gap between his agnosticism and the fact that Verheijen never thought seriously of leaving his priestly position. In this respect, her study of Verheijen is itself a rich, amply documented, but theoretically reserved 'salvage anthropology'.

Akitoshi Shimizu and Jan van Bremen (eds), *Wartime Japanese anthropology in Asia and the Pacific*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003, v + 300 pp. [Senri Ethnological Studies 65.] ISBN 4901906216.

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This volume is the result of a workshop of the same name held in December 1999 in Osaka. It is not the first time Shimizu and Van Bremen have co-edited a volume based on a workshop. In 1999 they published *Anthropology and colonialism in Asia and Oceania* (London: Curzon). The anthropologist Van Bremen (who died 1 June 2005) organized many international workshops leading to publications with many contributions of Japanese scholars. These publications provide important opportunities for non-Japanese-reading scholars to learn about Japanese research. When Jan van Bremen fell ill, he had just finished another workshop with Keiichi Harada in the same field: Encounters with Military War Dead (December 2004).

The twelve contributions in the present volume deal with topics like the methodology of Japanese anthropology in wartime (Atsushi Nobayashi and Teruo Sekimoto), and ethnology of colonized and occupied nations (Tsu Yun Hui, Nie Lili, Nakao Katsumi and Ch'oe Kilsūng). I will not look deeply here at all the contributions. Very interesting, especially for Dutch readers, is the article dealing which the influence of Dutch colonial anthropology on Japanese wartime anthropology (Miyazaki Kōji). Not only because it shows that Japanese anthropologists studied foreign cultures intensively, but also because it describes the approach taken by Japanese anthropology: emerging not by encountering the 'other' but by expanding the collective 'self', as Kōji writes (p. 223). Although Kōji suggests that his contribution is about the first topic, encountering the other, the volume is also about expanding the self. Most of the Japanese scholars and their research that is discussed in the book were working during the Japanese expansion, creating the Empire of Greater Japan.

The volume is also about the role anthropology plays in time of war. In the course of Japanese expansion, anthropological institutes were founded and staffed as part of occupation policy. In this sense, Japanese anthropology was given extra impetus by the war. Japanese anthropologists, however, differed from American wartime anthropologists, for example, who, on the assumption that American culture was the best in the world, felt it was their duty to assist their government to maintain it at home and spread it abroad (p. 31). In his contribution Van Bremen concludes that 'The participation of

anthropologists in the wars of the twentieth century has been large. Their involvements in the preparations, the waging and the aftermath of wars have deeply affected the discipline. In reverse, the influence of anthropology upon the wars had been small to negligible.' (p. 38.) This may be true in general, on a macro level. For people in China, however, who suffered more violent suppression during the Japanese occupation because of what was written in anthropologists' reports, as Shimizu describes (p. 99), the effect of the anthropological adventure was certainly not negligible.

The significance of this volume on wartime anthropology is not only that it describes an aspect of the history of Japanese anthropology. It also implicitly raises critical questions about the role of anthropologists in relation to state policy, whether the anthropologists are Japanese, American, or Dutch.

Lilie Roosman, *Phonetic experiments on the word and sentence prosody of Betawi Malay and Toba Batak*. Utrecht: LOT (Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics), 2006, xii + 170 pp. [Ph.D. thesis, University of Leiden.] ISBN 9789076864983. Price: EUR 21.23 (paperback).

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On which syllable does word stress fall in Malay-Indonesian? This seemingly straightforward question is in fact not a very good one, since it ignores the fact that, generally speaking, Malay-Indonesian has no word stress at all. When it does, it is the result of influence from another language, be it the speaker's first language or a historical substrate of a speech community. Yet many textbooks (and even some scholarly studies) perpetuate the myth that Malay-Indonesian does have word stress. It is usually said to fall on the penultimate syllable, unless this syllable has a mid-central vowel, whereupon the alleged stress shifts to the final syllable.

So what *would* be good questions to ask about Malay-Indonesian prosody? Although the language does not have word stress, it has phrasal accent, which highlights the prominent element in the phonological phrase. What are the phonetic correlates of this accent? And how do they interact with the effects of phonological boundaries? Roosman's published dissertation addresses these interesting questions. It does so mainly by comparing one variety of Malay-Indonesian (Betawi Malay) with an Indonesian language which does have word stress (Toba Batak).

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book is the detailed contrastive description of the temporal and melodic structures of these two languages, along with the effects of focus (prominence) and boundary on the basic structures. These findings, presented in Chapter III (the bulkiest chapter in the book), could probably have been better interpreted for the general reader. In fact, even specialists in Toba Batak or in Betawi Malay will find it difficult to follow the highly technical discussion, unless they have received extensive training in phonetics (which this reviewer admittedly has not). Fortunately, the major findings are neatly summarized on pages 81-84 in a more easily digestible way.

Although the author makes no mention of this, her description provides a good clue to why the myth of word stress in Malay-Indonesian has persisted for so long, and why it arose in the first place. Words which are prominent (in focus) and in medial position in Betawi Malay are shown to have a significant lengthening of the penult vowel, accompanied by a pitch movement. (This effect is obscured when the prominent word is also the final word in the sentence.) Standard Indonesian, whose prosody is generally based on that of Betawi Malay, presumably exhibits a similar pattern, as do other western varieties of Malay-Indonesian. Speakers of stress languages could easily misinterpret this as representing word stress. Moreover, when the penult vowel is mid-central, the effects of focus (as well as boundary) are accumulated on the final syllable, explaining the purported stress-shift rule cited above.

The experiments which gave the book its title are reported on in Chapters IV and V. Interestingly, they do not concern the production or analysis of Betawi Malay and Toba Batak. Rather, they investigate how Dutch word stress is produced and perceived by native speakers of Toba Batak, Betawi Malay, and Dutch, and provide an acoustic analysis of these native and non-native 'accents'. These experiments on the whole support the major findings presented in Chapter III, but again, the results are not easily understood by a non-phonetician. Of course, this is to be expected in a dissertation on phonetics; and besides, this over-technicality is compensated by the excellent and readily accessible introduction (Chapter I) and background survey (Chapter II). The clear and superb English in which the book is written is also a pleasure. A list of abbreviations would have assisted the reader (and could easily have been prepared), and better care could have been given to providing page numbers with all specific references. Yet all in all, this is an outstanding dissertation, which should do Lilie Roosman and her country proud.

Jamie D. Saul, *The Naga of Burma; Their festivals, customs, and way of life* (with photography by Dominique Viallard). Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2005, xiv + 214 pp. ISBN 9745240656. Price: USD 36.00 (paperback).

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Saul has been involved in researching the Naga of northeast India and Burma for some 40 years, initially under Hutton's guidance (some readers of *Man* may remember Saul's 1969 review of Hutton's revised version of his 1922 *The Sema Naga*). Since 2000 he has undertaken five field visits to the eastern Naga of Burma, on which this book is partly based. The book is superbly illustrated with colour photographs by Viallard and line drawings by the author, and has two useful maps of the region (pp. 2, 22). Extensive knowledge of published and unpublished materials shows in the valuable and comprehensive bibliography. Saul also knows Indonesia and sometimes draws comparisons with the Toraja. Alan Macfarlane's Foreword provides an admirable overview of the book and of the Naga. As he points out, the Naga have a particularly interesting society with possible historical links to the cultures of Borneo and the Philippines (p. xi). Little research has been possible in Nagaland or among the Naga of Burma since 1947, but their culture is in a sense particularly accessible because initial contact with the outside world occurred relatively late. They were 'expert craftsmen and artists' and their material culture, well documented here by Saul through the library resources he knows so well in addition to his own meticulous research, is of great value and interest. Macfarlane also points out how this book will supplement recent publications by Julian Jacobs (*The Nagas; Society, culture, and the colonial encounter,* 1990), Stirn and Van Ham's *The hidden world of the Nagas* in 2003, and his own long-term visual data project on Naga materials available through www.alanmacfarlane.com.

The book comprises an encyclopaedic compendium of Naga material culture and social life in an 'ethnographic present' the author dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth (p. 30). Yet it is frequently complemented and enlivened by his own observations, for example of sacrificial posts, tattoos or divination rituals, and his own interviews and conversations with the many Naga he thanks.

Chapter One provides a lively introduction to a 'national' Naga festival organized by the Burmese authorities, which the author attended in 2002. The entry of different warrior parties representing the extraordinary diversity of Naga sub-groups is very well described; Saul remarks on the 'profound sense of raw power' they emanate (p. 5), and the 'genuine warmth of the Naga' (p. 7).

Chapter Two provides a geographical introduction to the region based on very extensive knowledge; the author knows exactly where each sub-group is based and mostly where they migrated from, and the precise valley where refugees escaped from the Japanese or the British mounted punitive expeditions. This chapter moves into a valuable exposition of each sub-group, with some account of their migration routes and myths and dialects. Robbins Burling is thanked for extensive inputs here, but this author sometimes has his own suggestions and remarks on the need for more extensive linguistic work. However, no essentialism is assumed; Saul notes that tribal organization was largely a British administrative fiction (p. 17) and that village organization seemed to have been primary, and while regretting the loss of wildlife ranging from elephant to tiger and *mithun*, remarks on the 'continual transformation' which took place in the area throughout and subsequent to colonialization (p. 18). Chapter Three deals with the external markers of these identities in a comparative way, from hairstyles to tattooing (the 'language of skin', p. 33), clothes, and bodily ornaments like ear-plugs and armlets. It is clear that this is where the author's primary interest lies, but it is a well-informed interest, remarking on differences of status and gender with clarity and erudition. Chapter Four describes the 'environmental' aspects, again with particularly clear descriptions of variations in house structure (one group has longhouses) and the widespread *morung* or men's 'clubhouse' , and the log drum which a *morung* contained, often carved, which was beaten to warn of the approach of enemies, fire, or death.

Chapter Five sets out to deal specifically with politics and society, and here one feels perhaps something of the drawbacks of the dependence on colonial and previous ethnographic records for much of what we know. Macfarlane (p. xi) notes the 'good fortune' which brought to the Naga hills a series of 'gifted observers', and it is certainly true that some of the materials we have are exemplary in clarity of material description. Still, one feels much social context must be missing owing to the lack of long-term participatory fieldwork immersion. We hear of tributary relations between villages and of frequent warring and raiding, often for the purpose of head-hunting, and something of the difference between autocratic styles of leadership associated with hereditary chieftains and classes, and more egalitarian structures like village councils which sometimes combined with chieftainships. Under 'Displaying wealth' (pp. 105-7), Saul deals well with the feasts of merit which established status and culminated in the erection of wooden posts or large stone slabs. But one cannot help recollecting that Christianity impacted the Naga strongly in the late nineteenth century and that while non-Christians survive, these customs have long been discontinued.

'The journey of life' (Chapter Six) takes us, again in a structural and synthetic way comparing variations among the different sub-groups, through the stages of birth and naming, youth age-groups (in some areas), and the

extraordinary variety of customs associated with death – platform burials, the ritual removal of skulls, and the use of burial pots were all practices followed by different divisions of the Naga. The account of the 'Daily grind' (pp. 114-6) is particularly well done. Chapter Seven (which might have been coupled with Chapter Four) introduces us to the economics of *jhum* (swidden) cultivation, combined in some areas with terraced rice cultivation, with details also of hunting and trapping and how fish were poisoned, and of the regional trade in salt, iron, hornbill feathers, honey and cattle. In Chapter Eight one again feels the author's expertise as he describes in great and precise detail the weaving and dyeing of cloth (and other natural fibres), smithery, woodworking and carvings in wood, and something of the 'lexicon of carving' (p. 149); a tiger stood for the 'bravery of the *morung*', a human head for a 'great head-hunter'. Basketry, the use of shells and beads, and some pottery, are also all well described and illustrated, and the chapter concludes with an account of songs and dances, and then sports and games (tops and wrestling). Chapter Nine deals with the beliefs in spirits and the festivals and rituals associated with them, some observed by the author. Not, however, the human sacrifices (often of slaves) which took place, which are also described in some detail. The legend of the beaten Toad who caused the Flood, and of the loss of records (very widespread in the region and further afield in parts of Southeast Asia and China) are described (p. 185). The penultimate chapter concerns the precise details of head-hunting and the well-recorded rituals and practices associated with it. Head-hunting continued off and on until 'at least 1983', when it was last officially recorded, although there were reports of its recurrence in the 1990s (p. 188).

The last chapter ('The external world and its impact') makes the point that the Naga have never really been isolated; pressured by the Kuki on one side and Jinghpaw on the other, colonialization had an obvious impact in reducing some of the migratory processes which might have been expected to occur. The summary history of raids and migrations on pp. 195-6 impresses on one something of the long story of violence in this region, and here (p. 198) the author mentions the Naga struggle for independence in India and liberation groups in Burma which have made the whole area such a sensitive zone. In conclusion the author notes the rapid disappearance of such practices as tattooing, ritual festivals, and head-hunting, but notes that a revival is taking place in India which may rescue some cultural elements from otherwise certain oblivion. This is a rich and fascinating account of an extraordinary culture in a little-known region which should be of interest to a wide public concerned with ethnic artefacts as well as to anthropologists and historians of the region. The book is beautifully produced, and has the effect of bringing to mind a creative complex composed of wood carvings and hornbill feathers, head-hunting parties and beliefs in ancestral essence, feasting and mortuary rites, chiefly prowess and spears proudly brandished against outsiders.

K.S. Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali (eds), *Islam in Southeast Asia; Political, social and strategic challenges for the 21st century*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xxiii + 362 pp. ISBN 9812302832, price USD 43.15 (hardback); 9812302824, USD 32.90 (paperback).

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Islam in Southeast Asia consists of sixteen chapters covering Islamic developments in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. There is no chapter on Singapore. The volume is divided into four parts: Islamic doctrine and history; politics and civil society; modernization and globalization; and the impact of September 11 on Islam in the region. The editors provide a useful, succinct conclusion. The book is the product of an academic conference at ISEAS. Although conference papers generally make uneven volumes of poor quality, the scholarly level of this publication is consistent.

The volume can be said to have two major themes. The first is the impact of religious fundamentalism and revival on civil society and the possibility of the peaceful development of multicultural civil society. The second theme is the disastrous impact of 9/11 on the region. It has been argued with some validity – for example by D.S. Margoliath – that, while we think of Islam as a religion, the Prophet thought of it as a nation. The result is that the relationship between politics and religion in Islam is very different from that in other civilizations. Hence, any revival of Islam involves profound changes in law, politics and economics that pose a challenge to existing state structures. Many of the chapters – by Shamsul A.B. on the Malay world, Peter Riddell on religious minorities in Malaysia, Shad Saleem Faruqi on the *Hudud* laws, and Mohammad Hashim Kamali on the Islamic state – explore the complex history of attempts to establish an Islamic state in Southeast Asia.

These reformist movements in the region have in turn been influenced by the Iranian Revolution. Ayatollah Khomeini's theory of the guardianship of the jurist (*vilayat-e faqih*) and his charismatic personality gave the Islamic Republic a theocratic character in the early stages of the revolution. In Southeast Asia, Prime Minister Dr Mahathir announced in 2001 that Malaysia was an Islamic state. Islam, Malay language and custom are recognized as the defining characteristics of Malayness, and yet Malaysia like Indonesia is a multi-faith, multicultural, and linguistically diverse society. The secular nature of the Indonesian state is under considerable pressure from Islamic movements.

An Islamic state requires the dominance of *shari'a.* Moderates argue that *shari'a* endorses the principles of self-government, equality before the law, and

subordination of government to law. However, the *Hudud* laws, that is laws relating to crimes and punishment, are a cause for serious concern in a society such as Malaysia that seeks to be successful and diverse. The issue of women's rights has been central to the modern debate about Islam, modernization and gender equality. Lily Zakiyah Munir in her chapter on 'Islam and gender' comes to the conclusion that recent attempts in Malaysia to restore more conservative interpretations of polygamy, divorce and veiling (*hijab*) are the legacy of patriarchal institutions that cannot be legitimated by reference to the Qur'an.

These issues about customary practice and *shari'a* raise larger questions about the political and economic character of an Islamic state. Syed Farid Alatas paints a depressing picture of political patronage, rent-seeking behaviour, and corruption. These difficulties are compounded by weak leadership, underdeveloped civil society, and inadequate understanding of the problems facing contemporary Muslim societies.

The impact of 9/11 on this fragile political environment has been catastrophic. As Bernard Adeney-Risakotta demonstrates in his chapter on terrorism, there is much valid criticism of the United States in the region. In the absence of UN support, the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers cannot be easily employed to justify widespread destruction of life and property in Iraq and Afghanistan, and more recently in Pakistan. The war against terror has created a number of irrational political fantasies. There are widespread conspiracy theories about 9/11 as a Zionist plot to drag the US into a global crusade against Islam. The growth of evangelical Christianity in the region is also seen to be an aspect of a larger Western strategy. As a result, 9/11 added fuel to local conflicts that were already well established. The most dangerous hot spot is probably Mindanao in the Philippines, where the Moro Islamic Liberation Front has around 11,000 troops, but Thailand and parts of Indonesia are now also characterized by growing civil conflict.

While 'men of goodwill' (see the chapters by Azyumardi Azra on doctrine, Shamsul A.B. on 'moderate' political Islam, and Abdul Rashid Moten on globalization) have argued that the 'moderate Islam' of the majority of Muslims has no connection with terrorism or jihadists, these essays make depressing reading. It is difficult to see how social and cultural diversity can easily be sustained in the current climate of fundamentalist expansion, both Christian and Islamic. To take one classic example, the ability to exit from a community has been defined as a basic political right, for example by Albert Hirschman, but the customary view of apostasy makes exit, especially for Muslim women, very difficult. Because fundamentalist Christianity is also growing in the region, the possibility of friendly evangelical competition between religions for converts is very limited, and by contrast the possibility of violent conflict is correspondingly high.

Andrew Pawley, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson and Robin Hide (eds), *Papuan pasts; Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples.* Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005, xxiii + 817 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 572.] ISBN 0858835622. Price: AUD 135.00 (paperback).

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This massive volume of over 800 pages contains 23 articles that were presented at the Papuan Pasts Conference that was held in Canberra in 2000, and one article that was invited afterwards, on New Guinea population genetics. The papers are about cultural, linguistic, and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples. The idea was to bring together researchers from a wide range of disciplines with a focus on the area that in this book is called Near Oceania (New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands), to stimulate them to engage in interdisciplinary dialogue and to concentrate on shared objectives. The book has four parts, Linguistics, with seven articles, Archaeology, with eight articles, Environment, with six articles, and Human Biology, with seven articles. Each part has an introduction assessing the research findings.

Andrew Pawley, in his introduction to the linguistics section, draws the important conclusion that, apart from the central highlands where we find a single, large language family, the Trans New Guinea family, Near Oceania contains minimally three areas with an extreme linguistic diversity that formed after the late Pleistocene or early Holocene: northern New Guinea with around fifteen families, central south New Guinea with four families, and Island Melanesia with five families and some isolates. Depending on the comparative criteria chosen and the strictness with which classical reconstruction methods are applied, the Trans New Guinea family assumes different shapes and sizes in the literature, but at least here we have a large grouping of languages where good old-fashioned reconstruction methods can be made to work. No wonder the Trans New Guinea group has always attracted attention in linguistic, archaeological and genetic research, and this book reflects that Trans New Guinea focus. In all the chaotic diversity of New Guinea, Trans New Guinea seemed a good starting point to make sense of it all, and an area where the traditional reconstruction methods of historical linguistics did seem to work, to an extent.

But the Trans New Guinea focus, with all the impressive results presented in this book, also has dangers. For example, dangers of a dichotomy of central Trans New Guinea versus peripheral 'relic areas', a dichotomy that stresses

the differences but misses essential areal New Guinea continuities in social structure and cultural practices that shape language relationships. And dangers of assuming genealogical relations to be the default or preferred window on language relationships, and of viewing diffusion as a kind of dust on the genealogical window that needs to be cleaned in order to get the 'real', that is genealogical, picture of language relationships in New Guinea.

Perhaps the most important continuity that links 'relic' areas and Trans New Guinea is a fragmented social structure, often with small patrilineal bands or patriclans as the highest social and political units. These small communities of 50 to 500 persons should be taken as the default environment within which New Guineans live (and lived) and in which their languages are used, interact, and were formed. The 'relic' areas perhaps represent this typical New Guinean social and political fragmentation in its strongest form, but the fragmentation also plays a crucial role in the internal linguistic diversity within the Trans New Guinea group that makes it difficult to apply genealogical reconstruction at levels higher than local, small-scale subfamilies. In such band, clan and hamlet contexts, processes of language variation and interaction occur that make it unproductive to look at language relationships primarily in genealogical terms. The combination of clan exogamy and bilateralism causes women to migrate to the territories of their husbands, bringing their genes and languages, and causes their sons to maintain equal social, political and linguistic ties with father's clan and mother's clan. In this fragmented clan context, there is large-scale cross-influencing in which vocabulary, morphology, paradigms, constructions, speech styles, and genres are shared by the multiple language varieties spoken in the clans (father's language/dialect, mother's language/dialect, and often a regional trade or interclan lingua franca). The fact that it is the women that tend to move to the clan territories of their husbands is reflected in the findings of the influence of sex-specific migration, in this case of women, on human genetic variation in New Guinea (Attenborough, Alpers, Mgone, Bhatia, and Easteal p. 742).

The archaeological papers in the book summarize the state of the art and add fascinating details to the picture. The archaeological picture is that as long as 40,000 years ago, ocean crossings from Southeast Asia brought the first people to the Australia-New Guinea continent. Some 10,000 years later people had come as far as the central highlands of New Guinea. In these central valleys, from around 7,000 years ago, agriculture took on systematic forms, with cultivation of taro, yam, and banana. These successful horticulturalists filled and overfilled the central valleys, leading to a gradual expansion into lower valleys and finally into foothills and lowlands. Unfortunately, archaeological research in Near Oceania, just like linguistic research, has a clear bias towards the Trans New Guinea area, with the Bismarck Archipelago as a second focus, linked to the theme of Lapita pottery and the Austronesian arrivals.

The results of the studies in population genetics in this book seem to be consistent with the general archaeological picture. Using mitochondrial and Y-chromosome DNA, these studies point to genetic variation in Near Oceania consistent with 40,000 years of settlement and subsequent distinct population arrivals. Studies in the anthropological genetics of New Guinea have understandably concentrated on genetic distinctions between Austronesian and Papuan speakers, confirming that the linguistic distinction in most parts of the region roughly correlates with differences in descent, with speakers of Austronesian languages having some genetic descent from the early Austronesian arrivals. But the movements of Papuan-speaking groups in and around New Guinea remain a mystery. Very tentatively, Main, Attenborough, and Gao (p. 766) suggest that, genetically, at least four different groups can be distinguished that moved from mainland and island Asia to New Guinea in pre-Austronesian times.

The book is generally well edited apart from a few glaring oversights, such as Amat instead of Asmat in the heading on p. 10. The book is a must for everyone with an interest in the history of New Guinea.

Leo Howe, *The changing world of Bali; Religion, society and tourism*. London: Routledge, 2005, xv + 161 pp. ISBN 0415364973. Price: USD 120.00 (hardback).

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The changing world of Bali charts several interlinked themes defining Bali's twentieth-century engagement with modernity: the Dutch colonial legacy and its post-conquest project of cultural preservation; the reification of culture (*kebudayan*) as focus of identity in official policy from the colonial period to the present; the dynamics of hierarchy and caste, likewise transformed from a more fluid play of status and power to fit a fixed model imagined by western colonizers; and the contemporary religious reform movements, which carry on the rationalizing process of simplifying and reinterpreting Balinese *adat* (custom) while separating it from a universalized Hindu 'religion' (*agama*).

None of these apparently parallel and linked processes of change have been straightforward and unambiguous, however. Howe cogently argues, for example, that there has been a misrecognition of the place of hierarchy in Balinese life. From the outset Dutch colonizers were ambivalent about the disorderly character of Balinese hierarchy, in particular the real and imag-

ined place of ruling groups. One strand of scholarship and imperial interest inclined them to regard the political and religious elite as inauthentic impositions on Balinese 'village republics', while another strand was concerned to tidy up Bali's fluid and contested status hierarchy into a 'caste' system along the lines of an Indic model, itself reified in Orientalist scholarship.

Tourism has had a similarly profound and paradoxical impact in the ongoing 'renovation' of Balinese identity. Alongside its economic importance and the symbolic capital tourism contributes to the ethno-politics of Bali's minority culture position in post-colonial Indonesia, its demands and enticements pose challenges to established ways of doing things. Together, these complex economic and political influences have contributed to a displacement of local attachments in which once integral social, religious and cultural dimensions of everyday life are now becoming increasingly differentiated and institutionalized. Following Picard's work on this subject, Howe examines the growing conceptual distinction between *agama* (religion) – *adat* (custom) - *budaya* (culture) – *seni* (art). The establishment of official bodies (Parisada, Majelis Adat, Listibya) to regulate these once integral spheres of life indicates the extent of the state's role in the reframing of Balinese identity and experience. But it would be a mistake to assume a simple process of hegemonic imposition of new frames of reference, while ignoring the intense degree of reflexivity and local experimentation that have marked Bali's engagements with its 'others'.

Modernity's rationalizing project – challenging ascribed status, individualizing experience, relativizing meaning – also fostered new social and religious movements. An unintended heterodoxy arising from official efforts to systematize and modernize Balinese religious practice is reflected in the growth of Sai Baba and Hari Krishna sects, as well as *pasek* (commoner descent group) resistance to Brahman authority. These movements, which have been the focus of much of Howe's recent research, offer universalizing and individuated alternatives to the coherence and constraints of locally grounded *adat*. While not entirely incompatible with the diverse and practical orientation of local Balinese religious traditions (their 'orthopraxy', as Clifford Geertz described it), the voluntaristic and universalizing traits of the new religious movements, and the modernizing pressures that make them resonant, challenge the obligatory and communal character of locally embedded *adat* religion. But in this era of anxiety and crisis, democratization and decentralization, local *adat* identities have also been reinforced and revitalized. *Adat* remains rooted and reproduced in religio-social relationships that continue to have profound significance on many planes for Balinese. The tensions and self-reflections provoked by gobalizing and modernizing pressures – intensified by the terrorist bombings, Bali's minority cultural status, economic stress, and environmental decline – are being worked through in diverse ways by every community on the island. Howe's study provides an insightful look at the complex lines of

engagement through which the changing world of contemporary Bali is reshaping individual and collective identities in the new millennium.

Sarah Weiss, *Listening to an earlier Java; Aesthetics, gender, and the music of wayang in Central Java*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006, xiii + 188 pp. [Verhandelingen 237.] ISBN 9067182737. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

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Listening to an earlier Java is a fascinating historical study of gender and aesthetics in Central Javanese music and society.[2] It is a fine example of historical ethnomusicology, the 'insights gained through studies of living music cultures to better understand their pasts' (Shelemay 1980:233). Weiss conducted several years of fieldwork in central Java, where she developed close personal relationships with musicians and *dhalang* (puppeteers), and learned to play central Javanese gamelan. Her reflexive approach to writing about her fieldwork brings these people and ideas to life, and her vivid descriptions of Javanese soundscapes will resonate with anyone who has ever spent time on Java. The book is a joy to read, peppered with superbly translated examples of Javanese poetry, tales from the field, and stimulating analytical insights.

Weiss focuses on what she calls the 'old style' of playing the *gender*, a metallophone with thirteen or fourteen bronze keys suspended over tube resonators. Old-style playing was crystallized in villages in the Surakarta-Klaten area in the mid-nineteenth century, and gained strength in the first fifty years of the twentieth century. Old-style playing is marked by the predominance of female *gender* players, whereas it is primarily males who play the new style. *Wayang* puppet theatre was the main site for old-style playing, where female *gender* players typically accompanied male *dhalang*. But as the new male-centric style of *gender* accompaniment became dominant during the post-independence period, the female style receded in popularity.

The book deals with more than women's roles in music, as Weiss states in the introduction. Rather, the book treats gender as an ideological system of social relations that has changed along with other aspects of Javanese society during the last 150 to 200 years. One of the main points of the book, which comes through loud and clear, is the gendering of the new-style and old-

2 The term 'gender' appears in italics when referring to the musical instrument; the term 'gender' as a system of male-female social relations appears in regular script.

style practices. Old and new styles are based on different musical aesthetics, sound, and behaviour. According to Javanese interpretations, the old style played by female musicians is coarser and more emotional, whereas the new male style is more refined and restrained. These distinctions apply to theoretical discourse about music as well. Although women can and do articulate theoretical concepts, their theoretical knowledge has not been codified. Male musicians, on the other hand, have developed an urban music theory of modal practice formulated in the music conservatory. Weiss emphasizes the relationship between old and new styles: the aesthetics and practices of the new style are based on old-style ways of doing things. If we can learn how to 'listen back' from the present – to an earlier Java – we will hear the voices of these female musicians.

Listening to an earlier Java is intended for 'non-specialist ethnomusicologists, Southeast Asianists, and others' (p. 19). The book includes a chapter on musical analysis, and some basic principles of Javanese gamelan music practice and theory. This section may be considered too basic for specialists, but it helps to set up later interpretations of modal practice (*pathet*), formal structural characteristics (gong punctuation), feeling-ful interpretation (*rasa*), and interaction between performers in the group (the *gender* player and the *dhalang*).

The book links together ideas and values in music and other cultural texts, primarily nineteenth-century literary sources, myths, music treatises, and theatrical plots for wayang performances (*lakon*). Musical elements are given meaning through their coherence with the ideas and values in these corresponding cultural texts. Weiss argues for a critical re-evaluation of coherence or 'iconicity' models with respect to Javanese music and society, noting that previous studies have overemphasized the importance of structural points of arrival in gamelan compositions. For example, in the work of Judith and Alton Becker, structural points of arrival are iconic with calendrical cycles and power in Javanese society (J. Becker 1979; J. Becker and A. Becker 1981). Weiss suggests that there is 'something beyond, something that is made possible, by coincidence' (p. 42). Punctuation at regular intervals of a cyclical structure does not explain what happens in between the main structural tones. Rather, 'getting there' is possibly more significant for understanding Javanese aesthetics. Like a fine piece of batik cloth, the beauty is in the details. This certainly seems to hold true for the flowing and elaborate melodies of *grimingan*, the main genre for old-style playing.

Grimingan is a solo genre of *gender* playing that accompanies a *dhalang*'s narration or dialogue. *Grimingan* may last twenty minutes but are based on short melodies that are only about three minutes long. How do players create *grimingan*? Weiss notes that the answer is not uniform, yet she identifies some structural rules that constitute the grammar of *grimingan*. An accompanying CD-ROM includes 30 sound files and corresponding transcriptions in cipher

notation for *grimingan* in three different tuning systems. Each example is analysed. For the specialist, these examples provide rich data for a tradition that has not received nearly enough attention in the literature on Javanese music. One of Weiss's important contributions here is to suggest that *grimingan* is the source for Javanese theories of *pathet*, which were later codified by urban court and contemporary musicians in the twentieth century (p. 19).

Weiss presents a wealth of ethnographic and historical literature on the discourse about gender in Central Java. Weiss advocates for a less static, more interactive and more plural model of gender and power relations than that described in previous work in this area. Following Sherry Ortner, Weiss describes how male-female relations are structured in terms of competing hegemonies in which social manoeuvring and interaction help to define gender and power relations. Examining order, chaos, and gender in central Javanese myths, Weiss argues that interaction and dialogic interplay help to generate rather than crystallize gendered identities. Weiss presents Javanese interpretations of myths about *gender*-playing wives and *dhalang* husbands to show that complementarity of male/female relations revolves around creating order out of chaos. One might expect that female chaos is tamed by male order. Yet this is not the case. For example, legendary *gender* player Nyai Jlamprang is represented as a mediator between order and chaos, and Weiss cites other examples of *gender* players as mediators (p. 95).

Weiss argues persuasively for the significance of female *gender* players within the history of aesthetics in Javanese music, especially music for wayang. But what happened to these women once the old style receded during the 1990s? Is there a connection between females as musicians and the role of women in the New Order? Weiss notes that artistic competitions around 'appropriate' art forms were an outgrowth of the New Order's drive to 'keep people busy and focused on group rather than individual pursuits' (p. 77). Did competitions impact the old style of performance? Further elaboration on cultural politics in post-independence Indonesia may have answered some of these questions.

Listening to an earlier Java makes a major contribution to the discourse about music and gender in the field of ethnomusicology. Its analytical method bridges the fields of ethnomusicology, gender studies, anthropology, and history. Weiss's multidisciplinary perspective demonstrates her knowledge and ability to handle an extensive body of scholarship written in Javanese, Indonesian, Dutch, and English. Weiss interprets these ethnographic and historical data in new and provocative ways. By 'listening back' to the stories and myths of past generations we can find highly resonant elements in the music of the past that continue to resonate in contemporary society.

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REVIEW ESSAY

Four grammars of Malakula languages by Terry Crowley

Crowley, Terry (edited by John Lynch), *The Avava language of Central Malakula (Vanuatu)*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2006, xvi + 213 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 574.] ISBN 0858835649. Price: AUD 54.50 (paperback).

Crowley, Terry (edited by John Lynch), *Tape: a declining language of Malakula (Vanuatu)*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2006, xviii + 198 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 575.] ISBN 0858835673. Price: AUD 50.00 (paperback).

Crowley, Terry (edited by John Lynch), *Naman: a vanishing language of Malakula (Vanuatu)*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2006, xxi + 287 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 576.] ISBN 0858835657. Price: AUD 59.00 (paperback).

Crowley, Terry (edited by John Lynch), *Nese: a diminishing speech variety of Northwest Malakula (Vanuatu)*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2006, xiii + 81 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 577.] ISBN 0858835665. Price: AUD 27.00 (paperback).

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The posthumous publication of these four language descriptions written by the late Terry Crowley is, in many respects, a praiseworthy achievement. The premature death of the author in 2005, aged only 52, meant the loss of a major figure in Oceanic linguistics as well as a tragedy for his field of expertise, the firsthand documentation of Vanuatu's numerous endangered languages. The

months he had spent since 1999 exploring the languages of Malakula, linguistically the richest island of the whole archipelago, would certainly have proved fruitless were it not for the method he had wisely adopted during those last years: that of systematically writing up the drafts of his future monographs in publishable form – even in situations where most linguists would have preferred to wait for another session or two in the field before even starting to write. Fortunately – or should I say unfortunately – this precaution has proven particularly effective given the author's sad destiny: for instead of illegible notebooks full of handwritten data, we have inherited from him a spectacular set of four orderly and clearly written monographs, readily readable despite the incompleteness of their content. Equally worthy of praise is John Lynch (University of South Pacific) who, after the death of his colleague and friend, courageously took up the task of doing the final editing of these four works to prepare them for publication. Although he did not add any substantial information on the languages themselves, Lynch occasionally contributed some useful annotations and clarifications. The excellent form of these books, and the near absence of typographical errors, must certainly be credited to his careful proofreading. The publisher *Pacific Linguistics* also deserves to be thanked for having perfectly taken care of the whole project.

The result of this editorial challenge is a series of four grammars, at different stages of completion. The most complete is the description of Naman (308 pp., including 196 pp. for the grammar section and 51 pp. for the lexicon), which the author had submitted for publication shortly before his death. The sketchiest is Nese (94 pp., including 42 pp. grammar and 35 pp. lexicon), with repeated calls for further fieldwork. The two remaining descriptions, Avava (239 pp., including 121 pp. grammar and 64 pp. lexicon) and Tape (216 pp., including 108 pp. grammar and 49 pp. lexicon), are both in a decent state of finalization, even though the author obviously intended to enhance his data with further fieldwork.

The structure of the descriptions is similar: a table of contents, a list of tables; various prefatory sections (by Lynch and by Crowley); a rich, detailed introduction to the geography and sociolinguistic situations of the language; the grammar proper (including a detailed account of the phonology and a morphosyntactic description of noun phrases, verb phrases, simple and complex sentences); between one and ten interlinearized texts; a brief lexicon (vernacular to English) followed by a finder list. The only structural difference between the descriptions is the order of the chapters: whereas Nese and Tape have Lexicon–Texts–Grammar, Avava has G–L–T and Naman has G–T–L.

The four languages described are all spoken on the same island Malakula, in the northeast (Naman, Tape), the northwest (Nese), or the central area (Avava). Two characteristics they share are the absence of any previous linguistic documentation, as well as a high degree of endangerment. Naman has

'fifteen–twenty fluent speakers'; Tape 'a handful'; and Nese is spoken by only a single family. And even though Avava has managed to keep 700 speakers, these are now scattered across the island in several remote coastal villages, after the traditional inland territory of Avava was depopulated during the twentieth century. The precise cultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds of these four languages can be quite complex: each language is split up into several internal varieties which are linked to a wide array of place names, with all these names taking various forms according to the sources. These confusing intricacies are clearly explained in considerable detail in the remarkable introductory chapters of the descriptions, where the reader can find maps, census data, extensive historical and geographic discussion, and colour photos of the last speakers. Besides providing valuable information on the dying languages, these introductory pages give flesh and blood to their speakers, and bring to life the quest of the linguist himself.

The phonological chapters are very good. Most of the phonetic characteristics of these languages – for example, prenasalized or labiovelar consonants – are classic in the Oceanic context. Naman and Tape have schwas, which are common in that part of Vanuatu. The most original phonemes typologically are the two prenasalized voiced trills of Avava: one alveolar /ɒ/ [ⁿdʳ] – in fact represented in various parts of Oceania, and reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic – and the other one bilabial /ʙ/ [ᵐʙ], which is even rarer (Blust 2007).

As is customary, three types of transcription are used: the phonetic transcription in IPA; the phonological one, an IPA-derived ad hoc transcription system; and the orthographic transcription, used for texts. The rule adopted by Crowley, which makes sense, is to reserve the first two systems for the phonology chapter, while the rest of the book (morphosyntax, texts, lexicon) uses the conventional spelling. Although the result is generally straightforward, on several occasions this competition between three transcription systems may cause confusion for the non-Oceanist reader. One problem with the phonetic and phonological transcription systems chosen by the author is that, rather than consistently reflecting IPA conventions, they occasionally make use of ad hoc symbols – some of them derived from local spelling – that are sometimes at odds with phonetic reality. For example, if the flap of Nese is always 'realised as a retroflex flap' (p. 40), then why transcribe it as /ɾ/ (and even [ɾ] in phonetic transcription) rather than use the IPA dedicated symbol for the retroflex flap, namely [ɽ] and /ɽ/? Similarly, why represent the rhotic of Avava as /r/ and [r] if it is always 'realised phonetically as a flap'? Also, labiovelars, phonetically [pʷ], [ᵐbʷ] or [vʷ], are transcribed with a tilde (the IPA symbol for nasality), a convention that may confuse the reader unaware of the orthographies used in central Vanuatu: for example, /ɓirkoto/ [ᵐɓirkoto] 'hermit crab' (Avava p. 28).

An extreme case of these inconsistencies can be found in the consonants of

Naman. Naman has a pair of voiceless affricate phonemes, one oral [ts] ~ [tʃ], the second prenasalized [ⁿs] ~ [ⁿtʃ]. Crowley chooses to transcribe these two phonemes respectively as /c/ and /j/, with no proper justification. This choice, and in particular the very confusing symbol /j/, achieves a total of four inaccuracies, because a *prenasalized voiceless postalveolar affricate* /ⁿtʃ/ is wrongly represented as a *plain voiced palatal stop* /ɟ/. Even worse, the latter symbol – obviously the one Crowley had in mind here – is misleadingly transcribed as /j/ (IPA for the palatal approximant, also present in Naman). It might thus prove difficult for the average IPA-trained reader to read a form transcribed /lejlej/ as phonetically [leⁿtʃleⁿtʃ]. Arguably, these choices follow certain traditions found among Oceanic specialists, including the – questionable – habit of favouring voicing over prenasalization in the phonological representation of prenasalized voiced stops. Yet in this strictly synchronic description of Naman, it would have been more accurate to represent the two phonemes as /t͡ʃ/ and /ⁿt͡ʃ/. Finally, the orthographic transcription system adds even more confusion to the whole picture, by transcribing[3] /c/ and /j/ as respectively *j* and *ns*. Compare the correspondences between the three transcriptions: 'his grandfather' *j̈ëbën* = /c̲əbən/ = [t̲ʃəᵐbən] versus 'his finger' *n̲s̲ëbën* = /j̲əbən/ = [ⁿt̲ʃəᵐbən]. The probable intention to simplify transcriptions results here in low legibility.

The morphosyntactic chapters form the bulk of each description. Let me say it right away: these grammars are so clearly written, filled with language data and careful discussions, that students going to the field could rightfully take them as a model for writing their own language descriptions. One finds in them the same pedagogic spirit which gave rise to Crowley's renowned textbooks in linguistics. In particular, every single point is illustrated with one or more examples, which are obviously taken from a genuine text corpus rather than resulting from elicitation. With just a few exceptions, these examples are neatly glossed and translated.

Given the sad circumstance that gave birth to these books, it is an unpleasant task for me to do my reviewer's duty and concentrate now on their imperfections. Of course it would have made much more sense to conduct this discussion with Terry in person. However, because these works must outlive their author in the most professional way, I believe he himself would have liked them to be read and reviewed with the same demanding eye that he used when criticizing his colleagues' works. I hope the following pages will be understood as a tribute to the quality of his publications, and a way to keep their scholarly value as high as he wanted it to be.

The author's choice is to stick closely to the synchronic data observed for each language, and to include no other material. With just a few exceptions,

3 The letter *j* is commonly used in Vanuatu orthographies – after Bislama's spelling – to transcribe /tʃ/.

the analysis therefore makes no reference to the diachrony of these languages, let alone to historical reconstructions. Likewise, apart from a couple of footnotes or a few lines in the introduction, the author makes no reference to published material, whether about other Oceanic languages, or theoretical or typological in scope. This strict editorial decision may be owing to the author's desire to write a description as efficiently as possible, without allowing for any material external to his own field notes. But even if it results in an elegantly simple, data-centred description, this total absence of external references makes it difficult for the non-specialist reader to situate certain facts in the broader context either of the Oceanic group, or of some major typological trend. A short footnote here and there, pointing to some relevant references, would have been helpful.

For example, Naman has a benefactive construction involving the food classifier *nakha-* (as in 'She made *his* pudding' = 'she made pudding for him'), which is described as 'possibly a newly emergent edible possessive construction' (p. 75). In fact, Crowley could have cited here the references that have described the very same construction for other languages of the Solomons (Lichtenberk 2002) or New Guinea (Margetts 2004); this would have helped the reader understand that this is more likely to be a conservative pattern than an innovation.

Likewise, the author describes a modal category of Naman (pp. 114, 200), similar to English *lest* constructions, and coins for it the new term 'adversative'. In fact, exactly the same category is found in all the languages I know of Vanuatu and the Solomons, and was described by Lichtenberk, in a 1995 study, under the term 'apprehensional'. The absence of any reference either to this study or to descriptions of other Oceanic languages gives the reader the impression that this modal category is unique to Naman, which it is not.

In other cases, the descriptive terms chosen by the author are at odds not with the Oceanist tradition, but rather with the technical terminology in use among language typologists. For example, the long-winded phrase 'general statements about the world of which there is no specific time reference asserted' (Naman p. 99) could have been shortened to *generic statements*. Similarly, 'events which are encoded in association with a preceding auxiliary that carries realis marking' (of the type *I want that you come* …) (Naman p. 100) would be more accurately described as *dependent clauses governed by a verb of manipulation*. Also, the gloss 'continuous/habitual' for the prefix *ma-* of Naman (p. 113) would have gained from discussing the term *imperfective*, which is used precisely by Comrie (1976) as a cover term for these two aspect categories.

In some cases, the terminological inaccuracy ultimately misleads the syntactic analysis itself, as appears in the naming of parts of speech. For example, all these languages possess – quite classically for Oceanic languages – a set of locative words (like 'down', 'above', 'at sea', 'in the bush') which fill

the syntactic function of adjuncts, and match the typological definition of adverbs. While they are properly called 'adverbs' for Tape (p. 182), they are wrongly designated as 'locational nouns' for Naman (p. 164) and Avava (p. 115), although they share no distributional property with nouns. The shallow evidence given (Naman p. 165) to account for this choice (a sentence like *Above they spoke …*, where 'above' is analysed as a subject NP; or one like *The language of there*, where 'there' is called a 'possessor noun') is not at all convincing. Clearly these are adverbs, not nouns.

A similar syntactic issue appears in the discussion of serial verb constructions, on which the author is a renowned specialist. As is common in Oceanic languages, one finds proper verb serialization, consisting of two or more genuine verbs, but also more problematic cases, where a first verb is followed by a second element X which in itself does not qualify as a verb, and appears only in that verb modifying position. It is puzzling that Crowley, who is otherwise keen on purely distributional criteria, nevertheless decides to describe these X forms as 'serialized verbs' (Naman p. 137, Avava p. 92, Tape p. 162), based on the intuition that they 'have meanings that are plausibly verbal'. Not only is that stance untenable from a rigorous syntactic viewpoint, but even that semantic criterion does not hold: why should such forms as *lue* 'outwards', *khur* 'apart', *vëvrëkhon* 'aimlessly' be described as verbs on a semantic basis, when they don't even have the syntactic properties of verbs? Even the diachronic argument – saying that these are former verbs that have only recently specialized in the serial position – is not valid here: for example, Naman *lue* ~ Avava *lu* ~ Tape *luo* 'out' all reflect POc *lua 'outside', which is not attested as a full verb in any modern language. The analysis would thus have been more accurate if these forms had been included under the section 'post-verbal modifiers' (Naman p. 127). Interestingly, the very same author was more precise in his description of Paamese, when he identified these verb modifiers as forming a syntactic category distinct from verbs, which he called 'adjunct' (Crowley 1982:162).

Sometimes problematic is the presentation of the internal organization of the clause, and the interface between syntax and pragmatics. Thus, the syntactic concept of [*subject-*]*predicate* is absent from the author's vocabulary, and mistaken for the pragmatic concept of [*topic-*]*comment*. The author's unidimensional approach, by ignoring this useful theoretical distinction used in linguistics at least since Li (1976), results in a questionable analysis of (1):

(1) *Kine* | *netë-g* *ingët.*
1sg child-1sg many
'I have many children.' (Naman p. 146)

Crowley understands (1) as consisting simply of two noun phrases, a topic (*kine* 'I') and a comment (*netë-g inget* 'many children'); he explicitly calls it an 'equational construction', an interpretation which unfortunately does not make sense (**I am many children*). Parallel patterns found in other languages make it clear that, in order to be analysed properly, (1) requires two levels of analysis: while it indeed has a general (discourse-motivated) structure *topic–comment*, the latter comment itself is a full (syntactic) clause, consisting of an NP subject (*netë-g* 'my children') and a zero-marked adjectival predicate (*Ø-ingët* 'be many'). The structure of (1) is thus exactly parallel to its Japanese translation (1a), where the topic and the subject are distinctly marked:

(1a) *Watashi wa* | *kodomo ga* <*ippai*>$_{\text{PRED}}$.
1sg TOP child SUBJ many
'I have many children.'
(literally 'As for me, (my) children are many')

Crowley is also unconvincing when he tries to distinguish 'topicalization' from 'NP fronting' (Naman p. 205). Consider sentence (2), which any linguist would describe as a case of topicalization:

(2) *Igem dalë-n gem ati-des*.
2pl leg-3sg 2pl 3pl:REAL-alright
'Your legs are alright.' (literally 'As for you, your legs are alright')

Although Crowley himself sees a 'topic' in the exactly parallel example (1) above, he refrains from using that term for (2), and prefers to speak of 'noun phrase fronting' – that is, a 'pattern of movement of noun phrases to the head of the clause'. This old-fashioned conception of topicalization in transformational terms forces him to claim that *igem* has been 'shifted away from its original position' of possessor 'to the head of the clause'. In doing so, he explicitly draws a questionable connection between topics such as *igem* in (2), and the fronting of question words through '*wh*-movement', which also occurs in Naman. On the other hand, he decides to restrict the term 'topicalization' to those rare cases when the topic phrase 'cannot be construed as having been fronted out of that clause', such as (3):

(3) *Iget mokhot Ø-imes ne-n Ø-ve nejëkh.*
1pl.incl person 3sg:REAL-die spirit-3sg 3sg:REAL-become kingfisher
'As for us, when somebody dies, their spirit becomes a kingfisher.'

The distinction made by Crowley between 'NP-fronting' for (2) and 'topicalization' for (3) is not grounded functionally, but is simply an artefact of his own

theoretical assumptions. Because the interpretation he gives for (2) does not work in (3), he chooses to create a new ad hoc distinction, redefining topicalization along lines that do not match the now general use of this term among linguists. Arguably, however, the same facts could have led to a different analysis: namely, precisely because (3) invalidates the transformational hypothesis in terms of 'fronting', a unifying interpretation has to be found to account for both (2) and (3). This is in fact the case with the modern, functionally-based concept of 'topic': that is, an utterance-initial phrase that highlights an entity so as to provide the interpretative framework for the following clause, regardless of whether this phrase is formally referred back to in the comment – as in (2) – or not – as in (3).

Overall, Crowley is a good describer in terms of formal, morphosyntactic patterns; but he pays insufficient attention to the functional logic behind these patterns, and more generally to the semantic and pragmatic dimensions of language. For example, his analysis of deictics is disappointing: for Avava (p. 62) as for Naman (p. 90), he quickly lists a handful of 'demonstrative-type' forms, without giving any clue as to their semantic or pragmatic differences. Nothing is said either about the system of space reference, or about strategies for reference-tracking and anaphora. Essentially, apart from a nice mention of 'hesitation phenomena' (Naman p. 216), a discourse-based viewpoint is absent from Crowley's reflections, even when it could offer the key to a specific construction. Ironically, he himself criticizes his fellow linguists for 'largely – or even completely – ignoring features of discourse structure' (Naman p. 203).

This last point brings me, finally, to a more general impression left by these four language descriptions. What I regret most is the reduced space dedicated to in-depth functional discussion. Undeniably the author is keen on discussing linguistic facts, sometimes even at length, which is good, but his interests are generally limited to formal considerations: he provides arguments and examples to show that the same form can appear clause-initially or clause-finally, that it combines equally with verbs or with nouns, or can be cross-referenced with a pronoun. But the semantic and pragmatic problems raised by all these constructions – which I regard personally as the ultimate questions a linguistic description must address – are frustratingly absent from Crowley's writings.

Most of the time, a new morpheme is simply characterized by its translation in English, with no further attempt at any abstract definition: 'Postposed *ne* expresses the meaning of "just" or "only".' (Naman p. 169); '*Lis* is used to express the meaning of "again" or "more".' (Naman p. 132). When a form shows a polysemy that is surprising – at least to the reader – Crowley generally contents himself with the factual mention of its various senses, without trying to unravel the semantic motivation for this pattern. For example, the

Naman form *nsi* is first described as a 'necessitative' postverbal modifier (p. 134) – equivalent to English *must* – but later 'the same form' is said to express a 'general proximate temporal and spatial meaning which can be glossed as "now" or "here"' (p. 171). Nowhere does the author attempt to give any interpretation for that semantic connection; and in fact it is even unclear if he considers these as a case of polysemy (same word) or of homophony (two different words). Unfortunately, the lexicon at the end of the book is not helpful here, because it omits to mention the necessitative sense of *nsi*.

Another example of a striking polyfunctionality is Naman *mën* (p. 130): used affirmatively it means '(do) first', but when negated it translates as 'no longer, no more', and paradoxically 'not yet', which is semantically the opposite of 'no longer'. What could possibly be the semantic commonality between these three rather different senses? To take a third example, the author notes (Naman p. 143) that 'the negative of equational clauses' (*X is not Y*) is expressed 'by means of the negative existential verb' (*there is no X*): how are we supposed to interpret this observation? What historical or pragmatic mechanism can account for this unexpected merger of two functions that are formally distinguished in almost all other Vanuatu languages?

These fascinating issues constitute, in my view, the moment in a language description when things really begin, and when the describer really has to stick his neck out: first, by stating the problem; second, by proposing a plausible hypothesis. Unfortunately, perhaps due to his desire to produce descriptions quickly, the author fails to acknowledge most of the issues raised by his data – let alone answer them. Hopefully, the frustration felt today may tomorrow turn out to serve as encouragement for future students to take over Crowley's pioneering work, and address the questions left unanswered. In fact, such an outcome would answer the author's own appeal for conducting more fieldwork on these precious languages of Malakula. Luckily, despite their imperfections, these four descriptions are solid enough to serve as a useful basis for any future research of this kind.

All things considered, the flaws I have pointed out here for the sake of accuracy are minor issues in comparison with the incredible amount of firsthand data that are offered to us here. The writing and publication of these four grammars such a short time after the fieldwork itself is an admirable *tour de force*, which I wish other field linguists (including myself!) were able to imitate. In a way, Terry Crowley has taught a useful lesson to us linguists working on endangered languages: that we shouldn't be overly demanding and perfectionistic if we want our valuable data to come out in print. The heart of our projects, and the basis for any future studies, is first and foremost the publication of our factual observations on languages, in the clearest and richest possible form. In this regard, the legacy he has left us is invaluable.

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REVIEW ESSAY

'The folly our descendants are least likely to forgive us': the end of nature in Southeast Asia?

Michael R. Dove, Percy E. Sajise and Amity A. Doolittle (eds), *Conserving nature in culture; Case studies from Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies 2005, xviii + 348 pp. [Monograph 54), ISBN 0938692828, price USD 27.00 (paperback]; 0938692836, USD 38.00 (hardback).

Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, *Nature and nation; Forests and development in peninsular Malaysia*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2005, xxxviii + 487 pp. [NIAS Man and Nature in Asia Series, 9.] ISBN 8791114225, price GBP 55.00 (hardback); 8791114497, GBP 19.99 (paperback).

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Almost two decades after Bill McKibben announced *The end of nature* (1989), nature is very much at bay in Southeast Asia. Indonesia and its neighbours are in many ways the jewels in nature's crown, their rainforests and coral reefs the most biodiverse ecosystems on earth (Burke, Selig and Spalding 2002:13; Whitmore 1995:7). But this biodiversity is fast disappearing. Already primary lowland rainforests, the richest type, have almost vanished from peninsular Malaysia, and from the Philippines north of Mindanao (Aiken 2005:291; Kummer 2005:320). In Kalimantan and Sumatra, too, they will be gone within a few more years (Matthews 2002:xi). Boomgaard (2005:212) has predicted that if current trends continue, Indonesia as a whole may in fact be 'entirely without forests' by 2050. Almost 90 percent of all coral reefs in Southeast Asia, meanwhile, are already threatened by human activity (Burke, Selig and Spalding 2002:34), and most fisheries, even in deep water, are heavily overexploited (Butcher 2004:234-92). A keynote essay by James Fox (2005) in the recent edited volume *Muddied waters; Historical and contemporary perspectives on management of forests and fisheries in island Southeast Asia* bears the title 'In a single generation: a lament for the forests and seas of Indonesia'. Even popular images of the Southeast Asian countries now include scenes of environmental destruction: snarling chainsaws and falling trees, choking haze from burning forests, reefs smashed to rubble by dynamite fishing. And the iconic animals of the region have become objects of pity rather than awe: sharks bleed to death as their fins are cut off for soup, baby orang utangs cower in rehabilitation centres, and in Indonesia the survival of the once-feared tiger hangs by a thread.

The current destruction of genetic diversity may well be, as biologist E.O. Wilson put it in a comment quoted in one of the books reviewed here (Kathirithamby-Wells, *Nature and nation*, p. 337), 'the folly our descendants are least likely to forgive us'. In academic circles, at least, that folly has not gone unrecognized: as the assault on Southeast Asian nature has intensified, so literature on how to defend it has proliferated. The seven books on environmental issues in island Southeast Asia covered in this review essay were all published in the space of two years, 2005 and 2006 – as too was the abovementioned *Muddied waters*, a title not discussed here. What possibilities do the authors of these books see for the salvation of Southeast Asian nature in its hour of need?

> Since decentralization offers local elites enhanced opportunities to use district regulations to extract resources, regional elites are able to go about their business with greater 'legality'. In this sense, rather than establishing a new system, the implementation of regional autonomy may denote a shift towards legitimizing and in some cases extending the well-established *de facto* system discussed in this book. (p. 253)

Breaking the vicious circle of deforestation, McCarthy concludes, 'would entail more than designing institutions; it would involve addressing issues of power and dissolving the close linkages between local patterns of accommodation and the management of local natural resources' (p. 245). But on just how this might be achieved, *The fourth circle* has little to say.

> At the opposite extreme, both in its optimism regarding the prospects for conservation and in its faith in local communities as guardians of biodiversity, is the collection *Conserving nature in culture; Case studies from Southeast Asia*, edited by Michael Dove, Percy Sajise and Amity Doolittle. The central message of this volume is a bold one: that 'the solution to biodiversity conservation lies in identifying local institutions that have the potential to conserve the environment through sufficient economic returns without long-term resource degradation.' (p. 20)

The introduction to *Conserving nature in culture* opens with the argument that many environments that are commonly regarded as 'natural', and in need of protection from human activity, are in fact products of generations of deliberate environmental management by local populations (pp. 2-5). Rajindra Puri describes in the following chapter how by planting some trees and coppicing others, even the nonfarming Penan hunter-gatherers of Kalimantan affect the composition of the forest in which they live. Subsequent chapters pay tribute to the biodiversity of traditional swidden farming and agroforestry systems in Borneo and the Philippines, and to the ecological knowledge of the farmers who practise them. The bottom line is that if biodiversity is to be conserved, then the people who interact most intimately with the forest, as well as the forest itself, need above all to be left alone by the outside world. But existing thinking in environmentalist circles, as Michael Dove points out in the final chapter, is dominated by interventionism.

> This approach is typified by the 'rain forest crunch' strategy, which refers to the global marketing of nuts and other products originating in endangered forests through the support of international activists and 'green' consumers. The premises of this strategy are that the forest is being cut by local forest dwellers, that they are doing this because they are poor, and that they will cease doing this if lucrative markets can be found for the products of standing forest. The problem with this approach [...] is that it shifts attention away from the international community's own role as resource degrader [...]. The cessation of most deforestation depends not simply on stimulating benevolent intervention by the international community but on halting existing predatory interventions and not initiating new ones. (pp. 300-1)

In some cases the answer appears to be: practically none. An example is John McCarthy's *The fourth circle; A political ecology of Sumatra's rainforest frontier*. This is a book about 'the political, legal, and economic dynamics shaping environmental outcomes across southern Aceh, one of the richest and most expansive areas of tropical rainforest in Southeast Asia' (p. 3). McCarthy locates his work within the tradition of institutionalism in the social and political sciences. Unlike much work in this tradition, however, *The fourth circle* is partly anthropological in method and looks at local and customary (*adat*) institutions as well as at the state with its laws and its abuses of law. The title comes from the topography of Hell in Dante's *Inferno*, an explanatory quotation from which is provided on the opening page. But the book could almost as well have opened with a better-known line from the *Inferno*, 'Abandon hope, all ye who enter here'.

The animating question behind the study, to be fair, is not: how can the rainforest be saved? It is rather (to paraphrase McCarthy slightly): how can the institutional arrangements underpinning the destruction of the rainforest be characterized and explained? Nevertheless, the tone of this eloquent and authoritative book is deeply pessimistic. According to McCarthy it was 'largely at the urging of foreign conservationists' (p. 208) that the New Order state ever designated any forests as nature reserves even on paper, and in reality the protection of those reserves was always compromised by the power of political actors and commercial interests to ignore the law.

> Indonesians are familiar with the encompassing nature of such corrupt webs of exchange and accommodation that exist beyond the law, referring to the phenomenon as a 'vicious circle' or a 'devil's circle' (*lingkaran setan*). [...] Because the vicious circle involved forestry staff, army personnel, and other local functionaries, the state's legal sanctions could not readily be applied. [...] As these networks grew to embrace *adat* leaders and village heads, [...] local *adat* authorities allowed rapid exploitation, sacrificing the long-term value of the forest for short-term gain. [...] Consequently, the legal and 'illegal' domains – together with *adat* and state orders – came to constitute parts of a single system. (p. 210)

Might the original *adat* institutions, if they could somehow be restored, provide a basis for sustainable resource use? Alas, no: McCarthy finds that even in the past, traditional regimes were 'neither primarily concerned with nor organized to ensure environmental outcomes' (p. 202). He also shows how concrete attempts to harness *adat* to conservation, in the context of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), have been beset by problems arising from vested interests within, as well as outside, the communities in question. In many cases, he observes, there is simply 'no obvious link between protecting biodiversity and improving local livelihoods' (p. 244). Accordingly, McCarthy doubts whether decentralization of powers offers any prospect for more effective conservation:

In its recognition that contemporary deforestation is driven largely by the world's insatiable commercial appetite for timber, wood pulp and palm oil, Dove's analysis is undoubtedly realistic. It lacks, however, McCarthy's appreciation of how willingly local people often become complicit in the commercial despoilation of the environment. It also neglects to acknowledge that many biodiverse and sustainable 'traditional' farming systems, including almost all Southeast Asian forms of 'agroforestry', are themselves based on commerce (Gourou 1940:348; Michon and de Foresta 1995:100). A final criticism of this book is that despite its optimistic tone, no more than McCarthy's study does it actually specify how the protection that it advocates can in practice be provided, whether to forests or to communities, in the face of the powerful and wealthy interests ranged against them.

From sky to sea; Environment and development in Sulawesi, edited by Susan Wismer, Tim Babcock and Baharuddin Nurkin, is another collective volume in which community-based conservation features prominently. *From sky to sea* is a 700-page, 30-author book on environmental management in Sulawesi, based on research collaboration between Canadian and local universities. Many of its chapters are technical in character: assessments of the capacity-building benefits of the collaboration, descriptions of techniques for environmental impact assessment, inventories of biodiversity in specific local ecosystems. But in so far as resource management is addressed, the focus is on 'collaborative management and participatory or stakeholder approaches' (p. 210) – that is, on partnerships between local communities and state or international agencies.

In Chapter 9, for instance, Derek Armitage and Achmad Rizal investigate 'how local *adat* regulations and practices could fit into a reconfigured institutional framework that facilitates collaborative learning and innovative new management regimes' (pp. 230-1) in a coastal zone in western Central Sulawesi. Their piece is full of appreciation for traditional practices and how these promote 'harmonious relationships with nature' (p. 249), but it also warns that such practices may not continue to survive without 'adequate political and legal support' from the state (p. 254). Chapter 18, by Dadang Suriamihardja, advocates 'compromise management' as 'a way to reach collective action based on an agreement (social contract) among involved stakeholders' in order to combat coastal erosion near Makassar.

Evidently there is a pressing need for improvement in the effectiveness of community resource management schemes in Sulawesi. The final chapter of *From sky to sea* is ominously subtitled: 'Lessons from a failed fish pond project in the Tiworo Straits'. Written by Chui-Ling Tam, it deals with an attempt to provide an ecologically sound alternative to the seafront prawn farms which have replaced so much of Indonesia's coastal mangrove vegetation. The project in question involved excavating an elongated pond or ditch parallel

to the shore on the landward side of an intact mangrove belt. Tam's diagnosis of why it failed hinges on 'poor communication' and 'misunderstanding' between planners and participants, and her conclusion is that 'socio-cultural analysis' must play a major role in the design of environmental management projects (p. 640). Her own description of events, however, suggests that the main problems were political and institutional: failure to protect village land from encroachment by a private prawn farm, and failure to control opportunistic free-riding by project participants:

> Delays in cutting down the trees, as well as rapid felling of trees in the adjacent privately owned prawn farm which encroached on land reserved for the [pond], pushed the pond 25 metres closer to the sea than the intended 100 metres, so the sea-facing 1,000 metre bank is too low. Also, some project members – whose number grew to 25 compared to the 10 considered desirable – failed to provide promised labour. As a result, the membership voted collectively to use the incentive money to hire an earth-mover to dig the perimeter streams. Therefore, the money ran out before any stock or materials could be purchased to complete the project. (pp. 623-4)

Present profits, in other words, prevailed over future possibilities, and shirkers gambled that others would give them a free ride rather than allowing a joint enterprise to fail altogether. Problems like these may arise in any cultural context and do not necessarily indicate any failure of communication. It is hard to avoid concluding that what the project failed to take into account was not cultural diversity, but human nature.

Celia Lowe's *Wild profusion; Biodiversity conservation in an Indonesian archipelago* is another study of people and environment in Sulawesi – specifically in Togean, a group of small islands in the Gulf of Tomini between Central and North Sulawesi. Despite its subtitle, *Wild profusion* is not in the first place a treatise on conservation. Its primary frame of reference is the sociology of knowledge and of science, and much of the book is devoted to examining differences and conflicts between the ways in which local people, government administrators, Indonesian scientists, and foreign researchers in Togean view both nature and each other. Nevertheless the last two chapters, respectively on cyanide fishing and on the establishment of the Togean Islands National Park in 2004, do contain material on the exploitation and conservation of natural resources. The message of both is that although local people are involved in the destruction of Togean nature, they become involved only under pressure from outside forces. In the case of cyanide fishing, the pressure comes from fish traders and bureaucratic entrepreneurs who feed a lucrative market for live reef fish destined for luxurious foreign restaurants.

> It would be easy to be swept up by a theory that village leaders who profited from cyanide were just bad people, but these networks originated, and were patterned on, an entrepreneurial culture that starts at the top of the Indonesian political hierarchy. Neoliberal cultures of economy concur with these resource extraction practices, and powerful Northern nations have acted as guarantors of an Indonesian state that enabled international trade while subverting political opposition. Local village leaders were recruited and inducted into this culture by members of the regional bureaucracy [...] (pp. 145-6)

Anti-globalization rhetoric aside, Lowe gives a good concrete account of how fish traders use credit to bind fishers into dependency and oblige them to continue with destructive practices, and of how corruption makes it easy for those profiting from the live fish trade to flaunt the extensive regulations which exist on paper to restrict that trade (pp. 147-52). What is not really addressed here, however, is the question of why, given that current fishing practices are clearly unsustainable, the actors involved at every level do not seem to have any concern for safeguarding their own profits and livelihoods in the future. Is this really a matter of the ascendancy of 'neoliberal culture' among those in power, or are there other, rational reasons – political and economic uncertainty, for instance, or an irrevocable 'tragedy of the commons' – for discounting the future so strongly? Like Chui-Ling Tam in her study of the failed mangrove-friendly shrimp farm, Lowe seems too quick to jump to her preferred conclusions regarding the reasons for shortcomings in conservation.

At the end of the book Lowe identifies Indonesian nationalism, with its ideals of good and equal citizenship, as one promising resource in the struggle against the folly and the abuses she has described. The surprise with which she arrives at this insight, after being amazed to observe Sama sea nomads greeting the annual Independence Day celebration with enthusiasm rather than resentment, reflects the ideological presumptions, developed in an intellectual environment of postmodern distaste for nation-states and their projects, which she brought to her research. But the insight itself is an important one: barring a radical change in the pattern of commercial incentives favouring environmental degradation, it seems unlikely that the vicious circles of corruption, short-term profit, and despoilation described by Lowe and McCarthy can be broken unless by an enhanced ethical commitment to the public good – the kind of commitment which nationalism, at its best, embodies.

Nature and nation; Forests and development in peninsular Malaysia is another book which, as its title suggests, makes the same connection. Written by historian Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, this attractive and meticulously researched work surveys the history of forestry and forest politics on the Malay Peninsula from precolonial times up to the end of the twentieth century. More than half of the text, written with an authority reflecting long and deep familiarity with the colonial sources, concerns the period of the British

colonial presence from 1786 to 1957. There are striking quotations here from ecologists *avant la lettre* in colonial Penang and Singapore, prescient and poetic in their precocious understanding of the fragility of tropical nature. Like the earlier work of Richard Grove (1997), *Nature and nation* reminds us that when it comes to human awareness of environmental problems, there is almost nothing new under the sun – a sobering conclusion given that the problems themselves only seem to grow as the generations pass.

Another persistent and important theme in this book is the way in which from colonial times up to the present, the central government's attempts to protect forests have been resisted by the governments of the individual states which make up the federation of Malaya/Malaysia. To those who still believe that administrative decentralization as such will help cure neighbouring Indonesia's environmental ills, *Nature and nation* provides food for thought.

The book is well designed and produced, using nineteenth-century natural history illustrations as a decorative leitmotif. Aesthetically speaking, *Nature and nation*, with its elegant, striking cover featuring a colourful botanical painting against a black background, easily outclasses other books in its genre, including those reviewed here. It remains a mystery why expert publishers so often produce dull covers when with a little imagination they could make them as attractive as this.

The theme of conservation and nationalism, although present in the book, is actually less strongly developed than the title would imply. During the 1930s, states Kathirithamby-Wells, early moves to protect wildlife from the plantation industry involved 'a press-sponsored campaign' linking 'nature' and 'nation' (p. xxxii). In a footnote, however, she adds that she is using the term 'nation' here 'in the broad sense of a people belonging to a particular political and territorial entity' (p. xxxvi). This hints strongly that the campaign in question did not actually refer to a Malay or Malayan nation. And indeed, the genesis of nature conservation in Malaysia appears to have been a thoroughly colonial affair in which the only nationalism seriously involved was that of the British: Malaysia's first 'national park', inaugurated in 1939, was unapologetically named after King George V. Since independence, and particularly since 1970, the idea of Malaysia's natural environment as part of its national heritage has certainly figured in official rhetoric. Kathirithamby-Wells notes that it was the later prime minister Mahathir Mohamad himself who, as chairman of the National Land Council in 1977, 'drew attention to the mounting crisis of unsustainable production' in the timber industry (p. 313). Nevertheless, not quite enough evidence is provided here to convince the sceptical reader that serious attempts have been made to harness nationalism to the cause of nature conservation, or indeed vice versa.

Nature and nation includes several useful appendices, of which the first (p. 429) is a figure summarizing recorded changes in total forest cover in penin-

sular Malaysia between 1945 and 2000. Unexpectedly, this seems to offer a glimpse of hope for the future. It shows that deforestation was most rapid between 1960 and 1980, in which period almost one third of all existing forest was lost. After 1980, however, the rate of destruction slowed markedly, until from 1995 to 1999 the forest area actually increased slightly – and this despite the fact that the population of the peninsula was still growing fast (Appendix 3, p. 431). Timber production, meanwhile, peaked in 1989, and has since been falling (Appendix 2, p. 430).

What accounts for this reversal, tentative though it may be, of past trends? Kathirithamby-Wells provides no clear explanation. In her concluding chapter she emphasizes the role of a 'burgeoning middle class', with an 'unprecedented interest in the amenity and recreational value of forests' (p. 418), in adding momentum to the cause of conservation. This has evidently not been reflected, however, in the creation of new national parks or other major nature reserves: in West Malaysia the total protected area coverage today is still almost the same as it was in 1940 (Aiken 2005:298). The real answer seems to lie not so much in more effective forest protection measures, as in a slight reduction in the need for forest protection due to a change in the economic environment. More about this will be said toward the end of the present review.

The last two books reviewed here both examine environmental issues mainly from economic perspectives. *The politics and economics of Indonesia's natural resources*, edited by Budy Resosudarmo, is a collective volume based on papers presented at an 'Indonesia Update' conference organized by the Australian National University's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (RSPAS) in 2004. Boasting a preface by former Indonesian environment minister Emil Salim (who is also co-author of one chapter), this informative collection is broad and diverse. Only some of the contributions look at renewable resources like forests and fisheries (as opposed to non-renewable ones like oil and gas). Of those that do, none makes very encouraging reading.

Ian Coxhead, in a chapter on international trade and the 'natural resource curse', warns that the economic rise of China spells danger for Indonesia not only in terms of competition in the manufacturing sector, but also in terms of the way rising Chinese demand for commodities like timber, palm oil and fish threaten Indonesian nature. James Fox, Dedi Supriadi Adhuri and Ida Aju Pradnja Resosudarmo provide another warning against high expectations regarding the influence of decentralization on resource management. Iwan J. Azis and Emil Salim sketch scenarios for the future using a computer model incorporating the negative effects of unsustainable exploitation on the productivity of the farming, mining, forestry and fishery sectors; in their worst-case scenario, based on an assumption of 'failure to recognise sustainability as a generalised policy objective over the next 20 years', gross domestic product falls by more than a third between 2000 and 2020. Paul Gellert warns

that the logging oligarchy created under Soeharto, who used forest concessions as a form of elite patronage, is 'in the midst of reconstituting itself' (p. 158) and once again 'poses an increasing threat to the sustainability of Indonesia's timber resources' (p. 145). Krystof Obidzinsky, writing on illegal logging, delivers a similar message. Ian Dutton describes what he rather euphemistically calls the 'enduring challenges' of coastal and marine resource management. Joan Hardjono hopes that local democracy and press freedom will help curb environmental abuses in West Java, but offers little evidence that this is already happening. Jason Patlis, in a chapter on 'new legal initiatives for natural resource management', admits that new laws, however good on paper, 'are unlikely to fulfil their potential given the systematic failings of the Indonesian legal system' (p. 247). Isna Marifa, in a concluding chapter, sums up the predicament:

> In effect there is policy chaos in natural resource management. With national policies that are inconsistent or even conflicting, districts feel free to follow the path of their choice. At the same time, sectoral institutions at the national level continue to be at odds with one another, and are busy trying to hold onto or retrieve authority from the districts. Law enforcement also continues to lag because of the rate at which violations occur. Thus, the effective influence of national policies on natural resources is limited. (p. 252)

As a first step to solving these problems, Marifa recommends a partial recentralization of development planning: 'policy-making should be taken out of the sectoral departments and placed in a high-level policy unit responsible for spearheading a national development agenda that incorporates natural resources' (p. 257).

Managing natural wealth; Environment and development in Malaysia, by Jeffrey Vincent and Rozali Mohammed Ali with shorter contributions by several other authors, attempts a rigorous economic analysis of natural resource and environmental issues in Malaysia. Like many economists, Vincent and Rozali write and indeed think with a clarity, and sometimes elegance, which should make them the envy of other disciplines. Equally characteristic of their profession, however, is that some of their underlying assumptions are hard for any non-economist to stomach.

In *Managing natural wealth* the central issue is not how to conserve resources as such, but rather how to maintain and increase income – that is, how to ensure 'economic sustainability'. In this context the permanent depletion of 'natural capital' – including forests, soils and other potentially renewable resources as well as oil and minerals – is not in itself a problem provided that a sufficient proportion of the 'resource rents' earned in the process is invested in 'reproducible' or human-made capital: equipment, structures and infrastructure (physical capital), or skills, technology and knowledge (human capital).

Vincent and Rozali's attempt to quantify the variables involved in the Malaysian case is very schematic – entirely ignoring, for instance, human capital formation, and considering only one type of renewable resource, timber. Their provisional conclusion, nevertheless, is strongly positive, at least at the national level.

> Resource-rich countries can sustain their consumption levels only if they accumulate stocks of reproducible capital at a rate that matches the depletion of natural capital. Overall, Malaysia appears to have done this, and more. Adjusted net investment, calculated by deducting capital and resource consumption allowances from gross fixed capital formation, was positive in every year but one in the period from 1970 to 1990. (p. 50)

Malaysia, in other words, not only benefited immediately from natural resource utilization, but will also benefit in the long term. This contrasts favourably with the experience of most resource-rich developing countries which have tended to suffer from boom-and-bust growth patterns.

Economically sustainable resource use, however, has not been achieved in every part of the country. The Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak, Vincent and Rozali calculate, are exceptions to the national pattern. In East Malaysia the proportion of resource rents being invested locally in reproducible forms of capital is much lower than on the Peninsula, so that incomes are likely to crash once the resources in question are gone. Only a small proportion of timber revenues, for instance, is captured by government for public spending purposes, and logging concessionaires and contractors tend to export their profits rather than investing them in East Malaysia itself.

Other authors might conclude from this that the parties involved are parasites bleeding the Borneo states to death, and that they should immediately be obliged to desist. Vincent and Rozali, however, are made of sterner stuff. Their bullet-biting conclusion is that if timber barons prefer to invest their profits elsewhere, this is probably because the country they are ransacking is simply not worth investing in. In that case it might be advisable to let the fatal infestation take its course – and when Borneo's last rainforests have finally been laid waste, its impoverished people will simply have to emigrate to wherever there is still money to be made.

> If resource rents captured by the private sector tend to flow out of Sabah and Sarawak, one should wonder whether the states are intrinsically attractive locations for investment. Both are in remote locations, have small populations, and have terrain that makes infrastructural investments costly. Nothing in economic theory suggests that it is efficient to sustain economic activity in all locations. Historically, outmigration has followed resource depletion in resource-based economies in many regions of the world. Although this process is socially disruptive, it might be inevitable and in fact economically efficient when resource-extractive industries

> are the only viable ones in a region. Whether this is the case for Sabah and Sarawak is an issue beyond the scope of this book, but it is a possibility that policy makers should not overlook. (p. 57)

In another context, it might be tempting to read this chilling *reductio ad absurdum* as some kind of satire. But here there is no doubt that it is seriously meant – and that sometimes, economics really is the 'dismal science' its detractors take it for.

Not all of *Managing natural wealth*, thankfully, is this grim. Besides aggregate modelling, the book also contains chapters examining whether or not specific types of resource, including forests, agricultural land, and fisheries, have been managed in such ways as to 'maximize net benefits'. There are also three chapters on pollution and its control. Narrower contexts like these, it seems, force economic analysis to approximate more closely to common sense. In the chapter on forestry, some pages are even devoted to 'nonmarket (unpriced) values' such as biodiversity, watershed protection, and carbon sequestration (pp. 142-5). Still more interesting, and encouraging, is the negative correlation identified in the same chapter between the average level of per capita income (after this exceeds a certain threshold) and the rate of deforestation (p. 123). Clearly, this correlation sheds light on the recent slowdown and incipient reversal of deforestation in peninsular Malaysia. Robert Aiken and Colin Leigh, in an epilogue dealing with recent developments, explain why the country's growing prosperity causes progressively less forest land to be cleared for agriculture: because it raises the opportunity cost of labour to the point where rural areas are affected by labour shortages.

> After about 1970, urbanization and export-oriented industrialization created numerous jobs that paid better than those available in agriculture. Largely as a result, the proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture dropped sharply, the rural labor market tightened, and, increasingly, FELDA [Federal Land Development Authority] schemes failed to recruit settlers. (p. 369)

Forest cover, in other words, has been 'stabilized by economic development', which 'appears to be delivering the permanent forest area that direct forestry policies could not' (p. 124).

As a generalization the idea of an 'Environmental Kuznets Curve', in which economic growth leads first to a deterioration but ultimately to an improvement in environmental quality, has attracted a good deal of criticism (Douglas and Jalal 2000:29; Pasqual and Souto 2003:47-8). And it is important to note that timber depletion, even in West Malaysia, continues within the remaining forested area as a result of selective logging. Nevertheless, if – and of course this is a very big 'if' – commercial logging can be curtailed, then the 'de-agrarianization' (Bryceson, Kay and Mooij 2000) of Southeast Asia may

ultimately bring the whole region into line with the historical experience of the developed world, where economic growth, beyond a certain threshold, has tended to favour the conservation of forest resources (Grainger 1993:77-82; Palo 1994:54). Hope for a last-minute salvation of Southeast Asian nature in the twenty-first century, ironically, may lie in the same economic forces that in the twentieth century brought it to its knees.

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